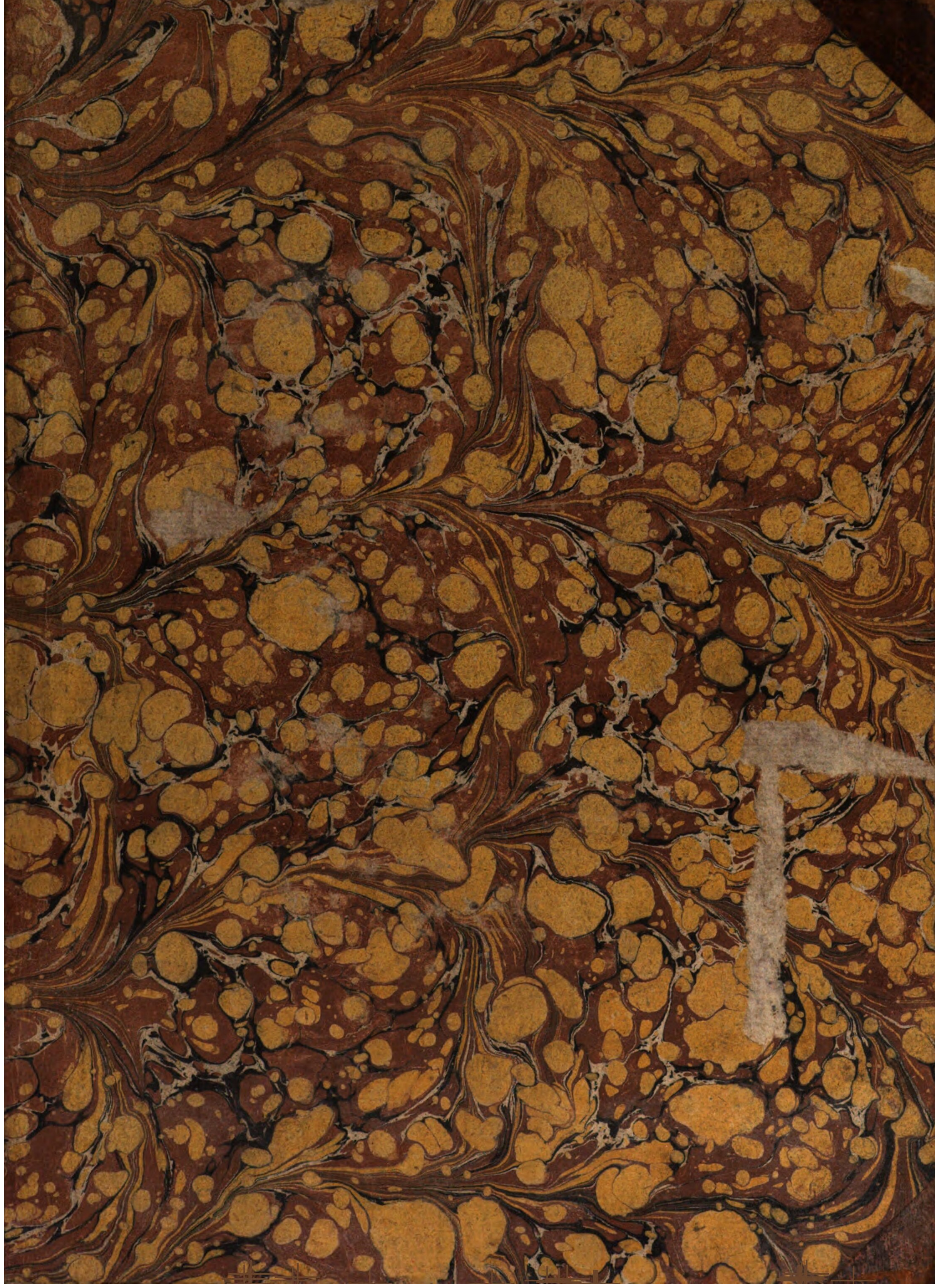




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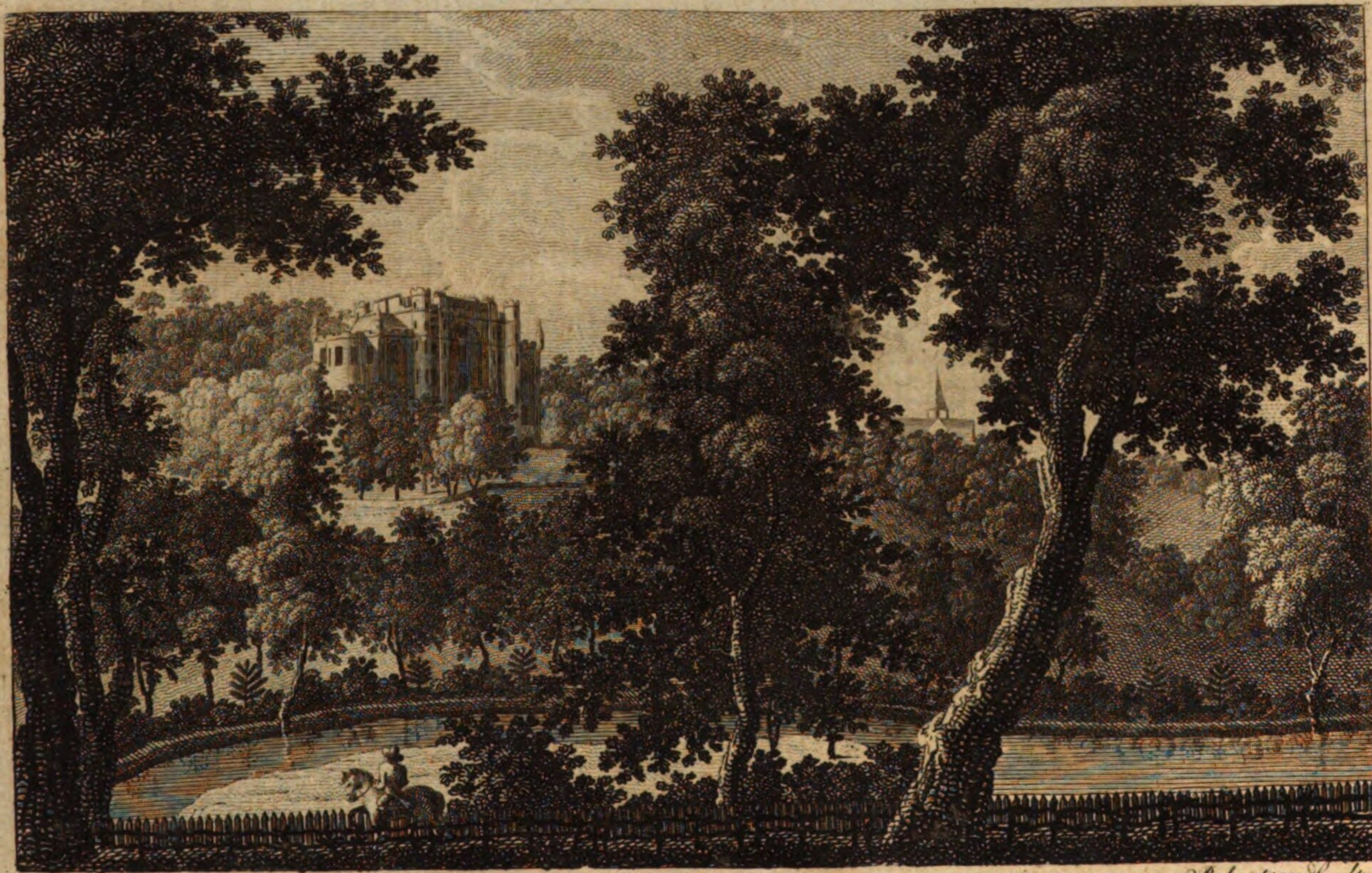
MEMOIRS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN
AND
IRELAND,

FROM THE
BATTLE OFF LA HOGUE TILL THE CAPTURE OF THE FRENCH
AND SPANISH FLEETS AT VIGO.

BY SIR JOHN DALRYMPLE, BART.
BARON OF EXCHEQUER IN SCOTLAND.

VOLUME SECOND,

—*Regique hoc dicite vestro,*
Non illi imperium Pelagi. VIRGIL.



Robertson Sculp.

OXENFOORD CASTLE

EDINBURGH:

Printed for JOHN BELL, and WILLIAM CREECH, Edinburgh;
And A. STRAHAN, and T. CADELL, London.

MDCCLXXXVIII.

M E M O I R S
G E O R G E A T B R I T A I N

I R E L A N D
BY SIR JOHN DAVENPORT, BART.
AND SPENCER PERCIVAL, ESQ.

W O L F E N B U T T O N
PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAULS CHURCH-YARD
1794

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

OXFORD: CASHEL
PUBLISHED BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAULS CHURCH-YARD
And at the BATHS, by T. CADDILL, Bookseller.
MDCCXCIV.

T O

L O R D N O R T H,

The following Sheets are dedicated, by
their Author, as a Testimony of his GRA-
TITUDE and AFFECTION.

b

TO

LORD NORFOLK

The following sheets are dedicated by
their Author, as a Token of his Gratitude
and Affection.

P R E F A C E.

I HAVE amused several years of life with writing Memoirs of British affairs, from the Dissolution of the last Parliament of King Charles II. as far down as I could procure original materials to support my relations of events ; and, if contempt of all expence to gain such materials could make me fit for the task, I certainly was so. Fourteen years ago I published a Volume, with my Vouchers ; part of which last, after some journies to Paris, I got, by an order of the French Court, from the *Depot des Affaires Etrangeres* ; a place to which no British subject, except myself, was ever admitted. It is easy to attack a man who can produce no witness for himself. It was spread about with much malevolence and industry, that I had forged the French papers ; and, had it not been for the generosity of Lord North, who said in Parliament that the copies had been in his hands before they came to mine, these reports, strengthened by the number of publications made to give them credit, might have been believed. I am so weak as to confess that this accident, together with the uneasiness which I found my discoveries had created in families, with whom I lived in friendship, discouraged me ; and I resolved to leave the rest of my papers with my family

mily to publish, or not, as they should think fit, after my death ; and some parts of them, which I had given in print to my friends for their opinion, I suppressed.

BUT seeing England lately (as I thought) on the brink of ruin, because she was on the brink of a Continental war, I sent another volume to be published, because I thought that the pictures of misery, even amid success, which the Continental wars of the two grand alliances present, might make the Public attend to the prospect before them. But if the war should take place, I imagined that some of the papers which I had written, pointed out weak parts in the French and Spanish monarchies, which England might take advantage of in the course of the war, and which had not been sufficiently if at all attended to by others. These are chiefly to be found in the Notes and the Appendix ; and I account them the best part of the publication, because the most useful. It may be thought, that the ideas contained in them should have been conveyed to Ministers rather than to the Public : But I have generally observed this difference between the Public and Ministers, that the former sees what is right or wrong in proposed measures through a pure air ; whereas the latter, from want of time, and the arts of others, see them, for the most part, through the medium of those who surround them. But, after one half of the Book was printed, the people were informed that they had escaped the fiery gulph, and therefore I stopped printing the remainder ; but stopped at the destruction.

destruction of the French and Spanish fleets at Vigo: An interesting period of history to Britain, because it leads to many important consequences, to which I have endeavoured to draw the public attention.

If other authors were as ingenuous as I am, they would acknowledge, that not to publish a Book, which is dressed as far as I can dress any thing, is printed, and always looks lovely in the eyes of its Author, is a piece of self-denial almost above human nature; and therefore, although the occasion that called for the Book is said to be over, I have thrown it upon the Public, which it was sincerely intended to serve.

As some of the papers in the Appendix to the first volume disprove facts, which are stated in that volume upon the authority of other writers, whose errors it was impossible for me to know, before I had seen the papers which made them known; I have been blamed for not publishing an Edition, to reconcile those contradictions, and to state the truth as the truth now appears. The same circumstances which made me suppress the second volume, made me careless about the first: But I shall do soon what I ought to have done long ago.

OXENFOORD CASTLE,

Nov. 3. 1787.

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OXFORD, 1787.

Nov. 2. 1787.

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E R R A T A.

Page 81. line 14. *for* equal to one of those two nations, *read* equal to those two nations.

Page 81. line 30. *for* fell to France, *read* fell on France.

Page 100. line 19. *for* second condition, *read* third condition.

Page 109. line 21. *for* a single ship, *read* two ships.

Page 111. line 3. from the bottom, *read* from that side of Darien.

Page 174. line 30. *for* Salle, *read* Sully.

Page 174. line 30. *for* Galloway, *read* Gallway.

Appendix, page 19. line 2. *for* 1400,000, *read* 1600,000;

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Review of the State of the War on the Continent.—And of the War by Sea.—And of Ministry.—Intended Descent upon France.—Russel removed from the Command of the Fleet.—Sufferings of Trade.—Campaign, and Attempt to assassinate the King.—A regular Opposition in Parliament.—Complaint of the Commitment of three Peers.—Inquiry into Miscarriages by Sea.—And into the Complaints of the Officers.—Attempt to obstruct Supplies.—Place Bill.—Bill for Triennial Parliaments.—Inquiry into Miscarriages in Ireland.—Lord Sidney's Government there.—Affairs of Scotland.—Notes.

A. D. 1692. and 1693.

THE boundaries which naturally separate nation from nation for conveniency and defence, are mountains, seas, and great rivers. Hence the Romans, who could divide their provinces as they pleased, separated the province of Transalpine Gaul, that is France, from Spain by the Pyrenees, from Italy and Switzerland by the Alps, from Germany and Holland by the Rhine, and from the rest of the world by the sea: But upon the irruptions of the Barbarians into France, who came at different times and from different countries, the chance of different conquests confounded those boundaries, and that kingdom suffered long by the loss of them; for on the south, Spain found an easy passage into France from Roussillon, and the French Princes were annoyed, sometimes in injuring others, and sometimes in defending themselves, by the Dukes of Savoy, whose territories, full of

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1692.

Review of
the state of
the war on
the Conti-
nent.

PART III.
BOOK I.

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natural strengths, came so far down upon those of France, that the troops of Savoy could do mischief to them, without receiving any in return; on the north and west, the English, from their possessions in the maritime parts of France, kept the interior provinces for ages in alarm; and on the east side of France, the Germans often attacked her from Lorraine, Alsace, Franche-compte, and the Rhine, and the houses of Burgundy, Austria, and England, from the Netherlands. The Emperor Charles V. and Henry VIII. of England, in the year 1544, formed the only wise plan of action that ever was concerted by England and the house of Austria for the humiliation of the French monarchy; because they engaged to make Paris the immediate object of the war; for which purpose Charles was to march through Champaign, at the head of sixty thousand Germans, and Henry through Picardy with forty thousand men from England and the Netherlands, and neither Prince was to lose time in sieges by the way, but keep his course straight forward to their common centre of junction; a project that was disappointed, by a cause fatal to most of those projects in which the execution of one plan is committed to different powers; because these naturally prefer their particular to the general interest: For the two Princes broke faith with each other; Charles to possess himself of some frontier towns on the side of Germany, and Henry to possess himself of Boulogne and Montreuil, in the neighbourhood of England, employed part of the campaign in sieges, and thereby disappointed its principal intention.

THE towering spirit of Richelieu, the artful policy of Mazarine, and the junction of these two qualities in the councils of Lewis XIV. seem, one after the other, to have formed a connected system to remove those disadvantages in the form of the French kingdom, by recovering the ancient limits of France: But the prosecution of this system appeared chiefly in the reign of Lewis XIV. By the treaty of Munster, in the year 1648, that Prince obtained the sovereignty of Alsace, and the town of Brisac important by its natural strength, and its situation on the Rhine. By the peace of the Pyrenees in the year 1659, Spain yielded Roussillon to him. Two years after, he took advantage of the necessities of Charles II. to purchase Dunkirk from the English, their only remaining possession on the Continent, of all the great territories they

once enjoyed there. By the treaties of the Pyrenees, of Aix la Chapelle, and of Nimeguen, two-thirds of the towns in the Spanish Netherlands, were at different times wrested from Spain by Louis; and, in the year 1672, he endeavoured to seize the rest. By the peace of Nimeguen, a right to Nanci, and to a great part of the dominions of the Duke of Lorraine, was conveyed to Louis, when he was already in possession of the whole by a grant from the Duke's father. By the same treaty, he was secured in the possession of Franche-compte. By his treaty with the Emperor in the year 1679, the town of Friburg was added to his frontier on the Rhine, with other appendages there; and, which was of more consequence, a communication between that town and Brisac. And, in a few years after the last of these treaties, he got possession of Strasburg by artifice, and of Luxemburg and Philipsburg by violence. By the judgments of the new courts which he erected at Metz and Brisac, to assert old claims which he pretended belonged to some of the countries that were yielded to him, and in which he summoned several free states and sovereign Princes, and even the King of Spain, to appear, he joined sundry of his territories together when they were separated by those of others: And Mareschal Villars relates in his memoirs, that in the year 1687 Louis communicated to him a plan by which he was to seize every strong place upon the Rhine from Basil to Mayence. Villars adds, that at that time the King was possessed of five bridges across the Rhine into Germany. The Cardinal Richlieu in person had taken the strong fortresses of Pignerol in the late reign: Louis XIV. purchased the still stronger of Cassal from the Duke of Mantua. So that France hemmed in the Duke of Savoy both on the west and on the east of Piedmont, and on the first of these sides almost to Turin. In the course of all those acquisitions, it was the general rule of the policy of Louis to dismantle, during war, all the strong places which he took, that they might be of no use to his enemies, if they should be restored at a peace; and, on the other hand, to repair their fortifications, when the accidents of treaties threw them into his hands, and to add new fortresses in new places; so that he was the first Prince in Europe, who, in imitation of Augustus, surrounded and defended the limits of his kingdom by military stations, but more permanent than those of Rome, filled with infantry and cavalry, which were kept in continual exercise, and with all

MEMOIRS OF GREAT BRITAIN

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military stores and provisions, from whence he could annoy his enemies in an instant, and prolong a frontier war, to keep them at a distance from himself. In the service of fortifying places, he employed Vauban, and created him a Marechal of France, knowing well that the first genius of Europe in the arts of fortification was worth many Generals to him, though his Generals were not only eminent in the common arts of war, but were men of great invention and genius. That engineer struck out a new invention in his art: For, instead of the high walls and towers of the ancient fortresses, which were expensive, and insured their own ruin by their own weight when shaken by batteries, he raised his defences not much above the level of the ground, and by forming them of the earth necessarily taken out to make the ditches, compassed two ends with one expence; and that expence a small one, in comparison of the cost of fortified works in former times.

THE arts of destruction, unfortunately for the human race, are too easily imitated and improved. The Dutch opposed the arts of their countryman Coehorn to those of Vauban. Other nations found or created their engineers; and Europe, from the mouth of the Var in the Mediterranean, to that of the Rhine on the Ocean, presented a theatre of countries filled with strong places, but in which those of France were the strongest. There were almost none in Spain, on account of the poverty of the kingdom; nor in England, because the people justly deemed their ships to be their best castles; and only a few in the north or west parts of France, because France, long unaccustomed to attacks in those quarters, now thought herself more safe from them than ever, by the ease with which she could carry war into the dominions of others.

WHEN the war of the year 1688 broke out, Lewis XIV. made use of all the advantages which he had taken so much pains and time to acquire. Instead of waiting to be attacked by his enemies, he sent one army into Piedmont, with the double view of harrassing the Duke of Savoy in his own dominions, and the Emperor on the side of Italy; another to the Rhine to oppose the Emperor on that side; a third into Flanders to frighten Holland, and humble Spain; and stationed a fourth in the Mozelle, which could turn to the south or the north, to give assistance

either to the army in Germany, or to that in the Netherlands, according as their circumstances should require. By sending Marechal Luxembourg with a fifth army into Catalonia, and the late King of England with a sixth into Ireland, he intended to throw the torch of civil discord, an instrument more mischievous in its effects than all the engines of war, into Spain and the British islands. To compleat his system of an offensive war, he brought the weight of a whole empire upon the back of Germany, by fomenting the Turkish war against the Emperor's Hungarian dominions; and, although he had lain on the defensive last summer, yet that defence had still been maintained in the countries of his enemies. These six armies, in the course of the war, to the astonishment of mankind, were extended to 400,000 combatants. In such a situation, although Spain, Savoy, the Emperor, all the German Electors, with nearly the whole of the remaining Germanic body, Holland, Britain, Denmark, by hiring troops to England, and locking up her trade with France, and Sweden, by agreeing to hire troops to the Dutch and the Emperor; that is, all the powerful parts of Europe, were joined, soon after the grand alliance, against France; and the Poles joined the Emperor against the Turks; yet men who could trace the chain of military causes and effects, might have foreseen, that the utmost to be expected from the alliance, great as it was, was to stop Lewis in the course of his acquisitions, but not to wrest them soon from him; that the war could only prove a series of sieges, or of battles to raise and protect them; that, consequently, little could be gained for a long time, and, in the end, the superiority would only remain with that side which had the most patience to bear the miseries of war, or rather the least impatience at the common want of success. But the war of England with France had been so suddenly entered into, as to leave no time for inquiry or discussion, or the conclusions which might have been drawn from them; for Lewis, by undertaking the cause of the late King so warmly, had forced the English to oppose France, in order to save their own liberties, and to overlook the folly of their engaging in a continental war, in which they had otherwise no interest. Besides, there were few who could trace the links of such a chain of causes and effects; because, in a country in which the roads to fortune and ambition are through civil, commercial, and maritime lines, large ranges of military views, to form

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which, much industry and experience, as well as genius, are required, are not to be expected: And, accordingly, although the histories of Spain, Italy, Germany, and France, be full of the characters of great Generals, and that of England full of those of great Admirals; yet, in the revolution of seven centuries, the names of no more than four or five persons, if so many, who deserve the name of Generals, are to be found in the annals of a nation, the ranks of whose armies are crouded with the bravest soldiers and officers in the world.

And of the
war by sea.

BUT, against the advantages of France in a land war, the Allies possessed greater advantages in a war at sea, if they had exerted their whole force on that element. Of these, the people of England were much better judges than of the strength of fortresses, forms of country relative to military operations, and resources of war, in foreign lands; and therefore they reasoned upon them thus, with the good sense of men who were masters of their subject: “ The prodigious exertions
“ which had been made in the times of Cromwell and Charles II. by the
“ Dutch and English against each other, in which they in a manner covered the ocean with three hundred great ships, and sometimes fought
“ battles with near an hundred on a side, proved, and to a demonstration proved, that the maritime power of the two nations joined, and
“ assisted by that of Spain, might have overwhelmed that of France;
“ because, though the navy of Lewis XIV. was numerous, beyond what
“ could have been expected, yet it was the first maritime force of consequence that France had ever exhibited, had been created almost instantaneously, by purchasing ships, and hiring seamen from all nations that would sell or hire them, and was void of experience, and
“ little tried in war. The French trade, though in a promising, was
“ but in a rising state, and supported more by the encouragement of art, and the genius of Colbert, than by its own natural vigour. Their
“ colonies were new and defenceless. Of the only four harbours in
“ France capable of receiving large ships, viz. Rochfort, Port L’orient, Toulon, and Brest, only the two last were fortified, and these not so
“ strongly as they might have been; and all the other harbours of France
“ were exposed to enemies full of spirit and enterprize, because they
“ could insult every where with impunity. Were effectual blows given

“ at this critical time to the trade, the colonies, the shipping in the har-
 “ bours, and the harbours themselves, of France, and consequently to
 “ those taxes which, in modern times, arise almost solely from trade, and,
 “ in modern times, almost solely support war, the maritime power of
 “ France might be crushed, before it had time to rear its head, and be long
 “ prevented from rearing it afterwards.’ Some added, ‘ That a war by
 “ sea was more peculiarly natural to England, not only because the sea is
 “ the natural element of the people, but because the cheaper pay and
 “ cloathing of a French, than of an English army, made a land war
 “ far more expensive to England than to France ; whereas the expence
 “ of sea armaments was as high to France as to England, because the
 “ pay of seamen, in ships of war, is regulated by the wages which the
 “ merchants are able to afford, and is therefore nearly equal in all tra-
 “ ding countries ; and, in all countries which do not possess naval stores
 “ at home, the expence of building and equipping navies is nearly the
 “ same.”

THERE were a few, but unfortunately only a few, who improved up-
 on these ideas : They thought, that a still greater advantage was open
 to the Allies on the ocean, if they would combine the sea and the land
 war together, so as to make the first contribute to the success of the last,
 by transporting armies into France by sea, and thereby forcing Lewis to
 recal his troops from attacking others at a distance, to defend himself
 at home. Of the three passages into the heart of France, on the side of
 the strong powers of the alliance, viz. Champaign, the Low Countries,
 and Normandy, the Emperor could not pursue the first, in the face of
 one army in his front, and another on the Mozelle to support it.
 The number of French fortresses in the Netherlands, fully garri-
 soned and protected by one army there, and another on the Mo-
 zelle to support it, rendered the second route impossible. But the
 third was open ; and Edward III. * had in a manner pointed the
 way for one, who was at the same time King of England and Stadhol-
 der of Holland, to land with a great fleet a great army on the coast of
 Normandy, and to march it even to Paris, through a province open in.

* See Froissart's account of Edward's expedition through Normandy to Paris, in
 Note 1. at the end of this book.

itself, and full of grain, of grass, of straw, of animal food, of horses, of carriages, of villages, and of great towns unfortified, without any other danger than all armies run, who make irruptions into countries destitute either of natural or of artificial strengths.

IF William did not see, in all its light, the grandeur of a project for humbling France through France itself, it is no affront to his memory: For, of all the officers formed by him or the Duke of Marlborough, there was only one, I mean the Field Marechal Earl of Stair, who thought, that the shortest and safest way to conduct a French war, was by marching directly to Paris, through countries of which he knew every foot as well as his own estate. That great man lost the friendship of the Duke of Marlborough, by pressing the project upon him in the last year of Queen Anne's war, a period when Paris was in a manner within his grasp, but recovered it, by not carrying his complaints against his General to Parliament. He lost the favour of his Sovereign, by presenting the same idea to him * upon three different occasions, but in vain, and was an enthusiast in his opinion to his dying hour.

And of ministry.

BUT the genius of William, truly fitted for business, which, when not at liberty to exert itself upon a great scale, could submit to make advantage of a small one, had determined him, before the battle of La Hogue, to make an attack either upon Brest or St Malo, according as circumstances should appear most favourable, with an armament of ten thousand troops. The project was entirely his own †, and only communicated by him, but fatally for France, to his English ministers; for the secret betrayed, of an intended invasion of France, was the real cause of the intended invasion of England, which terminated in the defeat of the French fleet. After that action, the project of a descent upon the coast of France, which had been suspended in the hour of the late danger, was revived by the King; but, in ominous circumstances, from the nature of the English government, which obliged him to employ ministers in his service, in proportion to their Parliamentary talents of

* See an account of those occasions in Note 2. at the end of this book.

† Lord Nottingham's narrative.

harangue and intrigue, and not in proportion to their talents for the conduct of war, or for that sublime part of politics, which consists in the art of making a little state great, and great ones greater. Although Lord Nottingham, from whose office, as principal secretary of state, all orders to the fleet were sent, possessed clear parts, and a clear expression, he was ignorant of sea affairs. Lord Rochester * was a man of confused parts, and confused expression. The natural abilities of the Marquis of Caermarthen were great, but distracted, and perhaps lost in the detail of packing parties, in which his youth and his age had been spent. And Admiral Ruffel, at the head of the fleet, well knew, that, from his own private correspondence with the late King, his life was in the hands of that Prince, and of Lewis, if he should add injury to injury, by invading the coast of France, after defeating its fleet. Besides, Lord Caermarthen and Lord Rochester were in a secret correspondence with King James. Mr M'Pherson has published the evidence of Lord Caermarthen's correspondence; and although, in the former volume of these Memoirs, I had represented Lord Rochester as one of the few of the great who stood clear of it, yet I have since seen evidence that I was mistaken. For when I was last at Paris I saw in the Scotch College there, a letter from Lord Rochester to King James, written on silk, which, from the form of the piece, had been the inside of a woman's stomacher; and I was told there were others of his letters in the House. The correspondence between King William and his English ministers, a few years after the Revolution, which I found in his cabinet, and published, shew how weakly that able Prince was seconded by men, who were deemed the wisest in the nation, merely because they were possessed of the poorest of all the talents of statesmen, that of haranguing in public, not on great occasions, as the orators of Greece and Rome did, but on every occasion; an avocation from business, which they called doing business. From that correspondence it appears, that Lord Rochester, in a memorial to the King, after the battle of La Hogue, had suggested, that the fleet should be increased, not indeed with a view to conquest, or to a diversion of the enemies force, but to save money; for he proposed,

* For the truth of this observation I appeal to his memorial to the King, p. 240 of the last part of the appendix to the former volume of these Memoirs.

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that the Dutch should pay the English troops abroad, and the English, in return, add ships to their own navy, by which the money sent abroad to the army would be spent at home on the fleet. Lord Caermarthen, who writes notes on the margin of the memorial, in which his own opinions are conveyed under the cloak of stating those of others, closes in with the idea of saving money, and advises the Sovereign of England to inform an English Parliament, that he means to buy at home the bread, and broad cloth, and every other possible article for the army. One of the marginal notes bears, "That if the King would make a great descent in France, the Parliament would give any thing;" but another bears, "That the fleet cannot be increased, on account "of the impossibility of it, "as not having ships enough, nor seamen, unless the coast-trade was stopped." So that the ideas of pedlars intruded themselves into the consultations of statesmen, and ended, as such a mixture always will do, in that indetermination, which is the attendant of confusion of objects. The counsels of Lord Caermarthen were so unsteady, that when the King went to Ireland, before the battle of the Boyne, he was hardly arrived there, when Caermarthen advised him, in one of those letters, to return with part of his army to defend England; which counsel had he followed, the throne of England had not now been filled with a Prince of the house of Hanover. Russel, in another of those letters, and a very long one too, reproaches his Sovereign, that he had not added to his appointments, which, at the same time, he confesses were not under L. 3000 a-year, nor given one pension to his sister, and another to his brother, a Lieutenant-Colonel, who, he tells the King, had been obliged to marry a rich widow, in order to retrieve his circumstances, hurt by his expenses*.

Intended descent upon France.

BUT notwithstanding these untoward appearances, the King persisted in his purpose of a descent upon France, and with a greater armament than had been originally projected; for it was intended to add to it † five thousand infantry, a corresponding body of cavalry, and four thousand seamen, to make part of the descent; and for greater objects than were originally in-

* Appendix to the former vol. of these Memoirs.

† Lords Report, 17th July, in Journals of this year

tended: because it was known, that twenty-six ships of war, by being lightened of their guns, had taken refuge in St Maloes after the defeat of La Hogue; that the whole ships of war of France were separated from each other in different ports of the Channel and of the Bay of Biscay; that the vast fleet of transports, which were to have landed twenty thousand men, with the late King, in England, were trembling from fear of their own destruction, under the weak protections of La Hogue and Havre de Grace; and that even the future hopes of France of a navy might be cut off, because a great number of ships of war on the stocks, or equipping at Port L'Orient and Rochfort, were exposed to be easily destroyed in those harbours. Repeated orders were given to Ruffel to attack St Maloes: the other objects of service were presented to his view at different times: Lord Nottingham endeavoured, by letters, to animate him to complete the late glories he had gained, and to annihilate the maritime power of France in one summer, by the sentiments of duty, honour, vanity, interest, and the friendship between them. But Ruffel took advantage of some expressions of this last, to call in question its sincerity, and pretending to take offence when none was intended, perplexed business by the confusion which accompanies bad humour. As long as Ruffel, before the battle of La Hogue, had been in public *, advising a descent at St Maloes, but with a secret view of leaving a free passage for the French fleet, in the mean time, to land the late King in England, he had declared the attempt upon St Maloes to be easy; and he even continued to do so for some time after the battle. But when he found his advice was likely to be followed, he pretended to find every thing difficult. He had made no complaints when only ten thousand troops were destined for the service; but when the hour of entering upon it came, he complained that a body of more than twenty thousand men, composed of infantry, cavalry, and seamen, was too little for its safety. But as cunning for ever betrays itself, he exposed his intention to do nothing, by proposing to send an armament nearly as great as that with which William had won three kingdoms, to bring off seven hundred iron guns, which the French

* Burchet and Ruffel's letters to Lord Nottingham, of 13th May, in Commons Journals, p. 750 of this year. — Former vol. of these Memoirs, p. 497.

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had saved from their burnt ships at La Hogue, and were then lying on the beach there *.

* The words of his letter to Lord Nottingham, before the battle; of date the 13th May, were, "Our troops may embark and land at St Maloes; which place, by the best information, is easily taken, while the fleet lies to the westward to protect it. This may oblige the French to a battle; and if we beat them, we may follow them, (not as they did us, but) into their harbours, and embarking the soldiers, go for Brest, and do a lasting service to England." The words of his letter soon after the battle, of the 27th of May, are: "Now is the time, if you were able, to make the descent: the people here are under so great a consternation, that, notwithstanding the late King's camp was pitched, and the Union flag flying, as also the French, with a white one, I really believe that ten thousand men might have marched forty miles without any great resistance." And on June 13th he writes: "Something must be attempted to destroy them: to effect which, the land-army may be of great use to us, though, I suppose, the forces the late King had near La Hogue, will be all drawn to St Maloes to protect them: when I consider what advantage this additional blow to the enemy may be to England, I cannot think that the possession of two provinces in France will be equal to it; and I believe your Lordship will be of my opinion: wherefore it is highly necessary, that the utmost endeavours should be used to perform so important a service."

Lord Nottingham, June 29th, wrote thus to Admiral Ruffel: "Our troops are so posted, that they will be embarked in a few days, and immediately sail to join you. I believe there will be about 12,000, besides dragoons, as there will be, if the ships were come from Millford."

Ruffel, on the 4th July, answered him thus: "Just now I received your letter of the 29th of June. I cannot now answer every particular; but this I may, without much consideration: If the number you design to land, do not exceed twelve thousand men, as you write, it will be of no use at *St Maloes*; that place (of men belonging to the land and sea) affording double that number fit to bear arms: If these be all you can have to make the descent, I think the best use you can make of them is, to land at *La Hogue*, and take away the cannon, Captain Meez writes me word, they have got up from the ships there destroyed: For, doubtless, this number will signify little against any part of *France*, where any strength is lodged."

Ruffel could not fail to know, from the beginning, that there were not above 15,000 troops in the whole kingdom.

A week after the date of this letter, to wit, on the 13th July, a council of war gave the following opinion: "We do think a squadron of ships, in the summer season, may be ventured to lie before St Maloes, to cover the ships of transportation, in case there be a descent designed near the place; provided the whole fleet be posted so as to secure them from any attempt of the enemy westward."

In the mean time, ignorant of these things, the spirits and hopes of people in England were elevated, in proportion to their late depression, when the danger of the invasion hung over them. The flames of the hulls and cordage of the French ships of war and transports, the falling of magazines and arsenals, the blowing up of docks and harbours, and the alarms of the inhabitants of France, from the mouth of the Garonne to that of the Seine, were seen or heard in the imaginations of all; and even those who in England often love their country when they hate their King, owned, with a mixture of exultation and discontent, that the useless glories of the Edwards and Henrys in the interior parts of France, were likely to be eclipsed by the more solid advantages of the thunders of England, hurled by an usurper upon her sea-coasts. These agitations were increased by an accident: The fleet having failed at one time, and the transports at another, anxiety and fear, which in great situations always present the dark side of objects, suggested, that they might miss each other in the ocean, or the transports meet with disasters when not assisted and protected by the fleet. Accounts arrived, two days after, that the transports and fleet had met at sea, and that the navy and land officers were sitting in a joint council of war, to regulate the mode of disembarkation. With these, the tide of hopes and joy returned; but it was short lived: next day an express arrived from Russel, that he had brought back the fleets to England, after the troops had been three days on board. He had had the address and influence to prevail with the council of war, which was thought in England to have been sitting on far other business, to concur with him in an opinion, which inferred, rather than averred, that the season of the year was too late for expeditions on the coast of France, though that season was no later than the 28th day of July. The account was received by the public, not as was expected, but with a stupid insensibility; for the disappointment was so sudden and so great as to overwhelm the power of rage or grief.

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Agitation in
the spirits of
men.

THE mind of William alone continued master of itself; accustomed to draw some good from the greatest evils, he ordered the troops, without

Admiral
Russel removed.

That the guns proposed to be brought off with a great army and fleet were iron ordnance, and seven hundred in number, appears from Lord Nottingham's letter of 17th July.—Vid. Inquiry in Journals of Parliament this year.

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being disembarked, to be sent to him in Flanders, to meet those enemies in another country, whom they hoped in vain to have encountered in their own. Soon after, he removed Ruffel from the command of the fleet, which he conferred upon Killigrew, Delaval, and Shovel jointly; trusting, according to his usual generous policy, to the honour of the two first, while, by public fame, and probably with justice*, their loyalty was suspected; but with the reserve of a prudent policy, that the last should be a check upon both.

Sufferings of
Trade.

WITH equal ability the French King turned his own misfortune at La Hogue to his advantage. Few of his seamen had been lost at that place, their escape having been favoured by the keenness of the English seamen to destroy the ships. He put the rest on board the transports which had been intended for the invasion of England, converted these into privateers, and infested the seas with their depredations. Such of the English merchantmen as ventured to sea were taken: the rest, warned by the example, continued at home. It was computed, that in the course of the war, fifteen hundred English ships had been taken, valued at three millions Sterling†. The same use was not made against the French trade, of the vessels intended for the descent upon France, either from the nature of the English Government, which makes the shipping of the merchants dependent upon contract alone, or because the King's English councils

* Among the papers published by Mr M'Pherson, there is a memorial from King James's adherents to one of the French ministers. The paper is not signed, but from the last paragraph it seems to have been written by no inconsiderable persons. The memorial contains these words: "Besides, his Majesty has the two Admirals, who command the fleet, and who are in correspondence with him, and from whom his Majesty may expect every advantage. First, they have been trained up by his Majesty, and owe their fortunes to him, and expect more from him than the Prince of Orange will ever give them, and therefore, they have greater expectations from his Majesty; moreover, they hate the Prince of Orange, on account of the insolence, of which they think he has been guilty towards the nation; and lastly, they have reason to fear they will be sacrificed to the Parliament, in order to save the Prince of Orange, who will not fail to blame them for the loss of the Smyrna fleet. Delaval depends entirely upon the King; and Killigrew, the second in command, depends upon the Earl of Danby, who is for the King."

Vide also Sir John Fenwick's confession.

† Journals of Commons of this year, 16th November.

did not think of it, and his own time and thoughts were occupied on the Continent. The object of Ruffel's fleet having failed, and no others presenting themselves, it remained inactive the rest of the summer. So that the trade of Britain was suspended, her seamen thrown idle, and her shipping, both of peace and of war, laid up in harbour near a year.

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THE war in Flanders this summer was equally unfortunate for William: Namur was taken in his fight, and the battle of Steinkirk lost, in which he commanded. The first of these events was made remarkable by two circumstances; the one, that the works were defended by Coehorn, who had contrived and constructed them, and were attacked by Vauban; and therefore these two great rivals in science and art, displayed against each other all the powers of their minds, to determine the rank of genius between them. But a wound received by Coehorn during the siege, which disabled him from acting, determined the point of success, but not the question, who was entitled to it. The other was, that the siege was covered by the King of France, and attempted to be raised by the King of England, each at the head of an army of fourscore thousand men, who lay long near to, and often in sight of each other, while the nations around stood in painful expectation of the event. But Lewis XIV. whose character is marked by an opinion which he sanctified by his practice through the first and the greatest part of his reign, that the best talent is to make use of the talents of other men, brought Mareschal Luxembourg, under the name of commanding under him, to conduct his army. By the counsels of that General, he eluded all the arts of William to force him to a battle, or to cut off his resources; and shewed he deserved success, by allowing another to take the honour of it. The other event was marked by the valour, almost divine, of the English troops, and their great loss of men, through the fault of Count Solmes, their commander, who was said to have disliked the English, because their free spirit, which he called a mutinous one, would not submit to German subordination; and who left them exposed, when it was reported he might have supported them with foreign troops. This circumstance, by raising animosity in England against foreigners, created afterwards much uneasiness to the King; although he, who seldom shed tears of sympathy but in battle, had often

Campaign.

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Project to assassinate the King.

cried out with a generous agony during the action, "O my poor English, how they are abandoned!"

IN the course of the campaign, a plot was laid to assassinate him, by one Grandval, who was executed for it. The furies of party in England fixed the imputation of the crime upon King James, and even upon Lewis XIV. and some of his deceased and living ministers: and party derived some advantage from it, to animate the nation against France and the late King, and in favour of William, who was said to be exposed in the cause of England. The King was too generous to pretend a belief of the imputation, and too politic to deny it.

IN the rest of Europe, the state of the war continued as undeterminate as ever. The Duke of Savoy broke, like one of the rapid rivers of his country, down upon Dauphiny, wasted the open country, and took several towns; but falling ill of the smallpox, was stopped in his course, and returned to his own dominions. The French kept possession of the part of Catalonia next to France, but without proceeding further, from the want of roads and provisions in Spain. On the Rhine, the French, under the Mareschal de Lorges, besides other advantages, gained a great battle at Speerbach, in which the Duke of Wirtemberg was taken prisoner, but which they did not carry into consequence; because Lewis, instead of pressing the Emperor on that side, found it more his interest to let him carry his armies into Hungary, and waste them against the Turks. In that quarter alone the arms of the Emperor had a decided superiority; but which he rendered of no use, by refusing reasonable terms of peace when offered to him there, from an obstinacy and pride, which were worth victories to France.

A regular opposition in Parliament.

AFTER the alternate successes of the summer, the King returned to England to convene his Parliament in November. One of Lord Caermarthen's marginal notes, upon Lord Rochester's memorial above mentioned, is in the following words: "Lord Cornwallis says, had the Parliament met when summoned this summer upon the victory at sea, they would have given any thing: English people being puffed up with success, which when forgot, as it soon is, their zeal will cool; so that con-

“ frequently, by this time, it will be forgot quite, which will prove of ill consequence to your affairs.” The observation was just: the King, by meeting his Parliament soon after the battle of the Boyne, had obtained, and with ease, whatever he asked; but by delaying to assemble Parliament for near seven months after the battle of La Hogue, he lost all the effect of the victory. The interval gave time for Lord Marlborough, who was enraged at what he called the King’s ingratitude to the Whigs and to himself, and whose favour with the next heir to the throne, high character in his profession, and above all, whose power of industry and intrigue made his influence, though he was only a soldier, and in prison, be felt in every line of life in the kingdom, to prepare a regular and concerted opposition in Parliament. The Lords Huntingdon and Scarisdale had been committed to the Tower at the same time with him, on charges of high treason; but some doubts were entertained of the legality, both of the commitments and of the continuance of them. Taking advantage of this circumstance, and of former and recent events, Lord Marlborough hoped that he should provoke the Whigs, by the preference given to the Tories in places of trust; the Peers, in defence of the privileges of their order, injured in his person and those of his two friends; the officers, by the slaughter of their countrymen at Steinkirk, pride of rank, jealousy of foreigners, and antipathy to foreign command; the merchants, by their losses; men of sense, by the imprudence of sending great and expensive English armies to a continental war, when their country was left unprotected against invasions at home; and the people, by the hatred and envy which they always bear to their superiors.

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THE effect of these preparations appeared as soon as Parliament was opened. The Peers, instead of paying the common compliment of an address of thanks to the King for his speech, delayed it for a fortnight; and, in the mean time, instantly entered upon an inquiry into the commitment of the three Lords. The legality of the commitment was referred to the opinion of the judges, who deemed it to be legal. But the King was too wise to let the strength of parties be tried, as Charles I. and Charles II. had too often imprudently done, upon abstract questions between the rights of the King and of the people, where the utmost he

Complaint of the commitment of Lord Marlborough and other Peers.

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Inquiry into
miscarriages
by sea,

could hope for would be a few declaratory words in his favour, of which the public, who were both judges and parties, would continually complain, quashed the dispute, by ordering the Lords to be set at liberty.

THE Houses next attacked the King's Tory administration, by an inquiry into the causes of the miscarriages by sea. In the heat of party and passion, natural to all popular assemblies, and which, therefore, makes their compliments or censure, for the most part, of little consequence in the eyes of posterity; Admiral Ruffel, protected by the Whig party, because himself a Whig, and because he had been displaced from his command by the King, received from the House of Commons an honourable testimony of his conduct, in a battle which he had not meant to fight, and in an invasion of France, which he had intentionally disappointed. The prosecution of Lord Nottingham was more serious, because the whole Whig party joined in a cry against him, and because the Tories, fretted by miscarriages during his administration, gave him only a feeble protection. But he escaped, from the nature of all parliamentary inquiries, which give time for the keenness of friends to encrease, the resentment of enemies to subside, and the indolence of all to indulge itself*.

and into the
complaints of
the officers.

THE Peers, taking advantage of an expression in the King's speech, in which he had paid an unmeaning compliment to the *advice* of Parliament, presented what they called *an address of advice* to the King†; in which they desired, that the commanding officer of the English abroad, next to the King, should be a native of his dominions; a regulation which, while it seemed to strike only at Count Solmes, shews the extent of Lord Marlborough's views, who foresaw he might one day claim the benefit of it; that the English officers should command officers of equal rank in the confederate army, except those of crowned heads, without regard to the dates of commissions; a regulation which, by the exception it contained, was levelled at the Dutch; that twenty thousand English soldiers should remain in England, to be commanded by one of the King's subjects; and that no seat at the board of ordnance should be bestowed on

* Lords Protests, 21st December 1692.

† Lords Journals, 18th February.

a foreigner. The Commons, in a resolution for an address, added, that the vacancies for general officers should be filled up with natives of the King's dominions. The subject touched the King on too tender a part; and therefore he answered dryly to the Lords, "that he would consider the matter of it." The answer, probably, shewed the Commons, that they had either gone too far, or that their going further could have no consequence; and therefore they did not turn their resolutions into an address.

THE particular view of that part of the address which desired twenty thousand English soldiers to be kept in England, commanded by an English general, has only lately been brought to light. Lord Marlborough's original plan, in concert with King James, was to prevail with Parliament, to send all the foreign counsellors, and the foreign forces, which were then above five thousand, in London, out of England, and then, by taking advantage of their absence, to make the late King's return to England more safe. But some of the late King's party, who knew not that the plan was concerted with their master, believing it was intended to please the Princess Anne, and to serve the ambition of her favourite Marlborough, and not her father, informed Lord Portland of the intention, and thereby enabled him to counteract it*.

THE Whigs in the House of Commons aimed a blow at the Tories, by a vote for an address to the King, "to employ in his counsels and the

Vote against
Tories.

* King James's account of this matter, in a memorial to Lewis XIV. is in these words: "My friends designed last year to recal me by the Parliament. The plan was concerted, and Lord Churchill was to propose in Parliament, to drive all strangers out of the council and army, and even out of the kingdom. If the Prince of Orange had consented to that proposal, they would have had him in their power. If he had rejected it, he would have made the Parliament declare against him: and, at the same time, Lord Churchill, with the army, was to declare for the Parliament; the fleet was to do the same, and I was to be recalled. They had already begun to execute this project, and had gained a considerable party, when some loyal subjects, who were indiscreet, believing that they served me, and imagining that what my Lord Churchill did was not on my account, but on account of the Princess of Denmark, had the imprudence to discover the whole to Bentick, and thereby diverted the blow." M'Pherson's State-papers, vol. i. p. 440.

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“ management of his affairs, such persons only whose principles oblige them to stand by him, and his right, against the late King James, and all other pretenders whatsoever.” But the Tories eluded the blow, by concurring in a resolution which they said did not affect them.

Attempt to
obstruct sup-
plies.

THE opposition-party made an attempt, in the House of Lords, which was begun by the Marquis of Halifax and Lord Mulgrave, to obstruct the supplies, and thus stop the wheels of government altogether, by creating and fomenting a quarrel between the Houses on the common land-tax bill: they prevailed with the Lords to assert a right to tax themselves, and to ingraft a clause for that purpose on the bill, when sent to their House by the Commons. The House of Commons took the alarm in an instant, and unanimously declared against the innovation. But the intention of starting the question was too apparent: suspicions arose that it had been concerted with the friends of the late King: Its serving France, by throwing discord into an English Parliament, provoked all. And therefore it was dropped, not without some shame, and perhaps some compunction, in those who had set it on foot. The attempt to obstruct public service proved fortunate for it. The Whigs, seeing they were likely to become unpopular for what they had done, did not, in the further course of the session, oppose the supplies. The number of seamen was raised to 33,000*.

Place bill.

THE fate of a bill for disabling members of future Parliaments to hold offices under government, shewed the indifference with which individuals could, at that time, give up their own interests, to serve those of their party. A bill which, if proposed at present, would set all Parliament in a flame, passed the House of Commons without one contradictory voice, and was rejected in the House of Lords by two only; circumstances which are commonly referred to as proofs, either that there was much virtue among Parliament-men at that time, or, which is next to it, that they wished to have it thought so; but which, perhaps, prove only, that the personal œconomy of our ancestors was greater, and the offices of

* Commons Journals, 1st December.

government fewer, and of less consequence than they are now. The opposition brought the bill into the House of Commons to make themselves popular; the Court-party assented, to rob them of the advantage: near one half of the Peers voted for the bill, to shew they were independent of the King; it was rejected by the rest, because their hereditary seats in Parliament made them independent of the mob.

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THOUGH this bill went through the House of Commons without much argument, because there was much affectation, and little sincerity in the conduct of it; yet the public entered keenly into reasonings upon its merit. But while some defended it on the common topic, that the disposal of offices among the members of the Houses gives an undue influence to the Crown over them; and some attacked it on the common topics, that since the territorial weight of the Crown had been lost for centuries, and the prerogative power of the Crown had sunk suddenly in the reign of Charles I. new influences, of some sort or other, were become necessary to prevent the regal from being over-balanced by the popular part of the constitution; there were men who reasoned, or might have reasoned on deeper principles: For, on the one hand, it was no extravagance to say, though at first sight it might seem so, that the struggle for places and honours in England is in modern times the chief cause of the liberties of England; because the surest road for men of parts and fair ambition, to force the employment of their talents into the service of government, is through their popularity: but they cannot become popular, without continual efforts to obtain popular laws, which, when they arrive at power, they cannot recal, or are ashamed to make the attempt. On the other hand, it was or might have been lamented, that the same war for places and honours which serves public liberty, hurts public interest: That in Rome, the annual change of power made it the interest of those who aimed at it, to promote the public service, even in the hands of their rivals, in order to recommend themselves to that public favour, on which their hopes of succeeding to them in a year or two depended, and in order to be able to perform the public service with the more glory to themselves, when they were so soon to fill the places of others; for which, the examples of Lucullus, Sylla, Cæsar, and others, might be appealed to, who conquered kingdoms abroad, for those who were impeaching

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them at home: Whereas in England, the power of the Crown to commit the care of the public service to whom it pleases, and for as long time as it pleases, leaves no alternative for those who wish to be employed in it, but to pull down their rivals; at home, by obstructing their measures; abroad, by creating a suspicion of the stability of their councils; and every where, by taking advantage of their fears, in attempting any thing that is new, however useful it may be; and by traducing the political characters of the ministers of government, to fix the imputation of weakness or wickedness upon government itself. But those perhaps were the wisest, who, seeing and owning all these disadvantages, thought, that though every thing was not good in the political state of England, yet every thing was better than any where else.

Bill for triennial Parliaments.

A bill equally hostile to the power of the Crown, which provided for annual sessions of Parliament, and that it should not be in the discretion of the Crown to prolong the same Parliament beyond three years, passed both Houses. The bill, though popular, raised dislike in some against a precedent, which pointed at fixing any duration to Parliaments whatsoever. It was said, "That to permit members of Parliament to tamper
" with their own fittings, and their own duration, was dangerous, be-
" cause it was making them judges in their own cause: The same breath
" of opinion which made them limit their duration to three years,
" might make them, for their own interest, extend it to seven: The use
" of septennial, would set a precedent for that of vicennial Parliaments;
" and by that single alteration in a statute, the responsibility of ministers
" to future Parliaments, and of members to their constituents, being re-
" moved, English Parliaments would become, like the senates of the
" Roman Emperors, mere engines of power, but more unwieldy and in-
" tricate in their movements, and the liberties of England be laid for
" ever in the dust: And that therefore it was safer to leave the duration
" of Parliaments to the discretion of the Crown, which, if abused, the
" spirit of the people could controul, than to statutes, which, whether
" right or wrong, it behoved all to obey." The King refused his assent to the bill, for the wisest reason which a foreigner could assign, "That
" as he found the English constitution to be the best in the world when
" he sawed it, he would not presume to try to make it better."

THE Houses lastly proceeded upon an inquiry into the mismanagement of the King's government in Ireland. Here the numbers of complaints arose, as commonly happens, in proportion to the favour with which they were received; and informations acquired dignity from being made in public, which those who gave them would have scorned to communicate in private. But most of them were true; the cause of which was, that no Parliament had been assembled in Ireland for twenty-seven years, unless the disorderly meeting of the late King's Popish adherents, in the chambers of Parliament, can be called one; and nations which are accustomed to look up for redress of grievances to their public assemblies, are more exposed than others to public disorders, when those guardians of order can defend them no longer. It was given in evidence at the bar of the House of Lords, that the Irish Privy Council, assuming military as well as civil powers, had hanged a man without trial, because, by advice of a priest, he had refused to adhere to a confession made in council against his accomplices in a murder; and that the soldiers, not regularly paid, lived at free quarter, forced money from the inhabitants for subsistence and clothing, and fixed prices as they pleased; and that their extortions were believed to amount to L. 200,000. Lady Cromwell, Countess of Ardglass, from a chair at the table of the House of Peers, in which she was indulged, as well as in giving her evidence upon honour and not upon oath, because she was a Peeress, told the Lords, that when she offered coals and wood at low rates to Villars, a Lieutenant-Colonel of dragoons, for his regiment, he answered, "No; he should need no firing as long as there was a house upon the estate," and pulled down her houses to use the timbers for fuel. These oppressions were imputed to causes deeper than the common disorders attendant upon armies, when conscious that they have mankind at their mercy, from imprudent expressions of Mr Pultney, clerk to the privy council, and of Mr Davis, another dependent upon administration; for the one said in the House of Commons, That, "if Parliament did not find supplies for the troops, the troops would find free quarters for themselves;" and the other, that, "if the Commons would give no money, they should have no Parliament."

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Inquiry into
mismanage-
ments in Ire-
land.

THE military stores of the late King were embezzled to the extent of a-

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bove L. 100,000; of the personal estates of the rebels, in value L. 135,000, only L. 10,000 was accounted for: their real estates were let on leases three fourths below their former value: and the profit of these frauds was divided, under the cover of the names of other persons, mostly among those who had been appointed to prevent them; to wit, Lord Conningby, one of the two Lords Justices, the Commissioners of forfeited estates, those of the revenue, and even the Lord Chief-Baron, and two others of the Judges. The mode of bestowing the leases gave more provocation than the preferences bestowed; for though the auctions were open, only those persons were permitted to bid, who were intended to be favoured; and therefore the appearance of justice seemed to add mockery to the want of it. But the behaviour of Mr Culliford, one of the commissioners of the revenue, who was attacked in the House of Commons for the share of profit which he drew from leases taken contrary to his duty, joined personal to political insult, when he conveyed an insinuation to the House, that his privilege, as a member of the English Parliament, protected him from answering to such charges in Ireland.

EVEN accident sometimes presented occasion for provocation; for protections from debt having been bought from men in power by many Roman Catholics, under pretence that they had been in rebellion, and as such were intitled to protection by the articles of Limerick; it sometimes happened, that while the officers of law were committing Protestants to prison for debts, those persons were coming out of it. This contrast between the fates of the prisoners, struck the senses of spectators, the imaginations of the absent, when they heard of it, and the rage and pity of the multitude. They exclaimed against a government which allowed Protestants to be committed to prison for debts, who had fought for government, when those Papists were freed of them, who had fought, or by the aid of perjury and bribery had pretended to have fought against it. The affectation of silence in men connected with power, when questioned, why they gave so many protections from debt to pretended rebels, was more alarming than the avowal of bad reasons could have been; because secrecy always creates suspicion that there is too good a cause for it. Mr Culliford's answer, when questioned upon such subjects, was,

that "these were *arcana imperii* which he was not at liberty to explain*."

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ALL these injuries, real or exaggerated, were made more bitter to those of high rank in Ireland, by the same circumstance, which was seen in our day in Scotland in the last rebellion, and soon after it, and which will be seen in every country where there is a war of government with its subjects. The more generous, who complained of the injuries of armies and officers, were privately traduced at court, and in the closets of ministers in England, as enemies to the King; and those mean men who, with indifference, saw their country insulted, were honoured and rewarded as his only friends.

IN this inauspicious state of things, Lord Sidney had gone over Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; but presuming on his being the King's only English favourite, and intoxicated with sudden power, he lost that temper in prosperity, which his master had never lost in adversity. Instead of letting bills for supplies originate in the Irish House of Commons, he sent two bills to the House which had been drawn by the privy council of Ireland, transmitted to England, and approved there; the one, a bill for a new excise upon beer; and the other, a tax upon corn-lands, in a country where a land-tax had never been known: unpopular bills, because they affected the drink and the food of the people, and unpopularly introduced. Fired with the love of that freedom which they had vindicated against one King, the Irish extended the spirit of it to another, and asserted, that no money-bills could be brought into parliament which had not originated in parliament itself; and the Commons substituted a bill for a poll-tax in their places. They prepared other bills, popular, wise, and just; and among others, a bill for a law, which was the thought of a divinity in pity to human kind, a *habeas corpus* law. Lord Sidney reprimanded the House, suddenly dismissed the Parliament without doing business of any kind, by which he lost the intended supplies, and returned to England in little more than two months after he had left it. His departure was marked by strong features of passion; for Sir Arthur Rawdon, with five other members of character and fortune, having, from civility, asked his permission to do what they

Lord Sidney's government in Ireland.

* Journals of the English Houses this year.

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could have done without it ; that is, to send agents to wait on the King on the affairs of the Protestants of Ireland ; he answered, that “ he knew “ no better agent for the Protestant interest than the King himself, who, “ to his knowledge, had been so for these twenty years past ; but if they “ desired to go to England to ask his Majesty’s pardon for their riotous “ meetings, they might do it, and he hoped they might succeed in it.” And to take from himself the excuse of an unpremeditated answer, he turned it into a deliberate act, by ordering his own imprudence, in the answer, to be recorded in the council-book. Immediately after, Lord Sidney dismissed Sir Arthur Rawdon from the government of his county ; but two noblemen, whom he successively appointed to fill his place, refused to accept. With the same impotent marks of disgrace, he sent the clerk of the privy council to demand from the King’s prime and second serjeant their commissions, for their conduct in Parliament : one of them, holding in his hand one commission which, from the terms of it, could be taken from him, and another which could not, bid the clerk “ take which he pleased.”

A very strong remonstrance on these subjects was presented to the King in England by the Peers, and another prepared by the Commons. But the King, either seeing that the injuries of Ireland were too wide, and involved too many offenders, to be punished ; or he, who was an indulgent and steady friend, remembering his obligations to Sidney for past services, interrupted the inquiry by a prorogation of Parliament on the 14th of March, and soon after went to Holland*.

Affairs of
Scotland.

THE external quality of an English monarch, is height, but of his ministers, moderation of spirit : Because a Prince, who has no power but what the laws give him, is obliged to assume the appearance of state ; and because, on that very account, freemen will generously bear from him what they will not submit to from their equals : And hence the history of England shews, that her princes have been more obliged to the temper, than to the talents of their servants. This truth was seen in the contrast between the fate of the King’s affairs this year in Ireland and in Scotland. The King took the public appearance of his confidence from Sir John Dal-

* Journals of the English Houses this year.

rymple, who was now, by the death of his father, become Viscount of Stair, because he was unpopular on account of the affair of Glenco, and was thought to be too bold in his ideas, merely because they were superior to those of other men, and gave it to the Earl of Tweeddale, Lord Chancellor, and to the Duke of Hamilton, whom he appointed his Commissioner to Parliament; one of whom was by nature a man of mild manner and temper, and the other by art was courteous to all, because he was conscious that his distance of rank secured him from the danger of losing ground by condescension. These ministers, by very different arts from those of Lord Sidney, prevailed with a discontented Parliament, in discontented times, to contrive new oaths for the security of government; to impose taxes sufficient for its support; to make him an offer, common enough in Scottish Parliaments, of pressing recruits to fill up vacancies in his regiments, and to increase his army with two regiments of cavalry, and four of infantry*. But the difficulties in which Lord Sidney had involved his master, by losing the Irish supplies, forced the King † to divert the money intended for raising troops in Scotland, for the use of those of Ireland. So that of three kingdoms, one poor kingdom gave aid to another, and the third, if we may believe the publications of the times, despised both, and pitied neither ‡.

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* Gazette May 4. 1693.

† Burnet.

‡ Vide a very extraordinary report against Ireland in the Journals of the House of Commons, 12th January this year, and the subsequent conduct of England to the Scots colony at Darien. — The report is in the following words :

“ It is notorious, that not an Irishman who was in Ireland during the late rebellion, and capable of being guilty thereof, either by being actually in arms, or by aiding, abetting, and assisting the rebels, is innocent : So that the only persons presumed to be so, are either such as continued in England during the whole time, of which there are not above three or four known; or infants of such an age as could not capacitate them to bear arms, or abet or assist the rebels : In both which cases, it is to be noted, that the heirs, or next in remainder, may have been, and probably were, in rebellion.”

“ Fifty-two rebellions, which the Irish have been guilty of, may sufficiently evince, that nothing can reconcile the implacable hatred of them to the British nation; and the only way of securing that kingdom to the crown of England is, the putting it out of the power of the Irish again to rebel; gentle means having hitherto always proved ineffectual; and the favour they received after being conquered in one rebellion, always laid a foundation for the next.”

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From those premises the report forms this conclusion :

“ In order to which, it is humbly proposed, that the selling all the forfeited estates of that kingdom, not remitted by the articles of Gallway and Limeric, to Protestants, will so strengthen the Protestant, and weaken the Popish interest of that kingdom, that future rebellions will, with more ease, thereby be prevented, than otherwise they can.”

Note first, page 7th.

Froissart, whose relations are written with the simple charms of Xenophon, and, like his, are full of manners and picture, and who lived in the time of Edward III. gives the following particulars of his expedition. It was originally intended for Gascony, to raise the siege of Aiguillon, then besieged by the King of France's son at the head of one hundred thousand men. But Edward's fleet being prevented by cross winds from getting into the ocean, he was persuaded by Godfrey of Harcourt, a French rebel Lord, who was with him, that the best way to raise the siege, was by invading Normandy. The argument which Godfrey made use of, was in the following words: That “ Normandy was one of the most plentiful countries in the world; that the people were little used to war, and those who were, were occupied at the siege of Aiguillon; and that he would find many great towns, but without walls.” Upon this account Edward turned his fleet to La Hogue. His army consisted of ten thousand archers, an equal number of Welsh and Irish, who, in that age, were used as light troops, and four thousand men at arms, who were the cavalry of the age, and each of whom carried three horses with him, if it be true that the English men at arms were composed in the same way with the French, each of whom, as the historian Guiccardin relates, had three horses with him. Edward was accompanied by the prime nobility of England, and by his eldest son, afterwards the Black Prince, then a youth, to animate the army by the preciousness of their pledge, and to form the youth to the love of great actions by seeing great scenes. When the King landed, he fell. His attendants wished him to return to his ship, and not to land his army that day, because the fall was ominous. He answered, with a ready presence of mind, that the ground of France had showed her fondness to receive him, and he accepted her embraces. He stopped for some time to take the towns of Barfleur, Cherbourg, Montbourg, and other towns on the sea coast, with the then strong fort of Caen, in order to secure places of refuge to his fleet, and of retreat to his army. Such prisoners as were rich or warlike he sent over to England in his ships, which were continually passing, that he might be sure of the ransom of the one class of men common in those days, and be safe from the insurrections of the other behind him when he quitted Normandy. His march was along the Seine, to procure water-carriage for his baggage, and secure one of his flanks. He divided his army into three bodies, which marched separately in the day-time, to cover more country, but were encamped at night, so as to be able to give aid to each other if attacked; and for that purpose, his own quarters were always in the centre of the camp. But he passed the walled towns without besieging them, that “ he might not” (as Froissart says) “ waste his army and artillery.” In his march, Froissart says, that “ he found” (precisely as would be found at this day) “ the country full of grain, carts, and waggons, horses, swine, sheep, and other beasts; their houses full of riches, rich burghesses, and

"much drapery." He came within a few miles of Paris, burning some villages around, but did not attack it, because the King of France protected it with a strong army posted at St Denis, and disease had infected the English army. Being afraid of want of provisions if he returned through a country which he had wasted, he took his route through Picardy, the magazine of grain of France, as Normandy is her magazine for animal food. But the bridges of the Seine being broke down by the enemy, he threw a bridge of boats over the river at Poissy. The country of Picardy not being at that time so well known as it is now, he had difficulty to find a ford in the Somme; but when he found it, and that it was defended, he forced it by an unexpected attack. The enemy hung upon his retreat with more than one hundred thousand men, and he had not the eighth-part of the number.

He retreated till he found a very strong post, just large enough to draw up his army, and defended by nature every where, except in his front, which he left open for the enemies to pass, and then stopped to receive them, and relieve the fatigues of his army. Early in the morning of the day of the battle he rose, paid his devotions in private, and when the sun rose, he repeated them in public with his whole army, to the God of battles. He then rode from rank to rank, encouraging his men (as Froissart says) "with kind words and chearful looks;" and made them recruit their spirits with meat and drink, and rest themselves in their ranks on the ground, while the enemies were approaching. He posted all the horses behind, and placed their riders, with the infantry, in the narrow and strong ground of his station. The battle was gained by the English archers, who, in that age, were deemed the best in the world. Froissart says, "their arrows fell thick as snow among the French." Often attacked, and often victorious, they never quitted their ground to pursue, till the enemy fled every where; and even then the main body went not, but the light troops to compleat the defeat, who stabbed all whom they overtook with short daggers, through the openings of the armour which covered their bodies. The English army had been drawn up in three bodies behind each other, to give and receive support the more easily; the young Prince commanding the first line, and the King the last, who took his station on a height at a wind-mill, to have the better view of both armies. The Prince's line being fore pressed; Froissart relates what happened in the following words, which I copy from the old English translation by Lord Berners, because it has all the simple air of the original. "Than the seconde batayle of the Englyshmen came to socour the Prince's batayle, the whiche was tyme, for they had as than moche ado, and they with y^e Prince sent a messenger to the Kynge, who was on a lytell wyndmyll hyll: than the knyght sayd to the Kynge, Sir, therle of Warwyke, and therle of Cāfort, Sir Reynolde Cobham, and other suche as be about the Prince, your sonne, ar feerfly fought with all, and are fore handled: wherefore they desyre you, that you and your batayle wolle come and ayde them; for if the Frenchmen encrease, as they dout they woll, your sonne and they shall have moche a do. Than the Kynge sayd, is my sonne deed, or hurt, or on the yerthe fallen? No, Sir, quoth the knyght, but he is hardly matched; wherefore he hathe nede of your ayde; Well, sayde the Kynge, retourne to him, and to them that sent you hyther, and say to them, that they send no more to me for any adventure that

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“ falleth, as long as my sonne is alyve: and also say to them, that they suffer him this
“ day to wyne his spurres; for if God be pleased, I wole this journey be his, and the
“ honoure therof, and to them that be aboute hym. Than the knyght retourned agayne
“ to them, and shewed the Kynge’s wordes, the which gretly encouraged them: and
“ they repoyned in that they had sent to the Kynge, as they dyd.”

What passed on the evening of the battle, is thus finely described by Froissart. “ On
“ this Saturdaye, whan the nyght was come; and that the Englyshmen hard no more
“ noyse of the Frenchemen, than they reputed themselfe to have the vyctorie, and the
“ Frenchmen to be dysconfited, slayne, and fiede a waye. Than they made greate
“ fyers, and lyghted by torchesse and candelles, bycause it was very darke. Than the
“ Kynge auayled downe fro the lytell hyll where as he stode, and of al that day tyll than
“ his helme came never of on his heed. Than he went withall his batayle to his sonne
“ the Prince; and embraced hym in his armes, and kyst hym, and sayde, fayre sonne,
“ God gyve you good pseuerance; ye are my good son, thus ye have aquyted you
“ nobly; ye ar worthy to kept a realme: the Prince inclyned himselfe to the yerthe,
“ honouring the Kynge his father. This night they thanked God for their good ad-
“ venture, and made no boost therof; for the Kynge wolde that no manne shulde be
“ proude or make boost, but every man humbly to thanke God.”

In the whole annals of literature, the best-told stories for manners, and affecting and picturesque circumstances, are those of Joseph and his brethren, and of Ruth, in the scripture: and yet Froissart’s account of the six citizens of Calais, who gave themselves up to Edward to be executed, in order to save the rest of their fellow-citizens, is scarcely inferior. His relation, too, of the Lombards attempt to betray Calais to the French, the King’s night-adventure, and his behaviour to his prisoners, is perfectly capital.

Note second, page 8th.

I have said, that Lord Stair, at three different periods, advised his late Majesty to attack France through Paris.

The first time was in the year 1734, when France was destitute of an army, from the successive pacific counsels of the Duke of Orleans and Cardinal Fleury; and the then situation of Europe made the Moselle the only station for a German and English army. The second was in the year before the battle of Dettingen, when an English army lay useless in Flanders, and two French armies were in distress in Bohemia. The last time was after the battle of Dettingen, when, added to the distresses of the former year, the French had lost that battle. These periods are referred to in the following memorial, which Lord Stair, when he resigned the command of the army in Germany, after the battle of Dettingen, delivered to the late King.

Memorial presented by Field Marschal John Earl of Stair to K. George II. after the battle of Dettingen.

“ THE march from Aschaffenburg was made entirely without my knowledge. I got
“ into my coach in the morning, resolving to continue there during the march; but
“ being afterwards informed that the French were passing the Mayne, and advancing in
“ order to attack us, I mounted on horseback immediately, and made all the dispo-

“ fitions proper for drawing up our army in order of battle, which I executed with-
 “ out any confusion. Meeting Count Neuperg soon after, I informed him of the dispo-
 “ fitions I had made, and he approved of them entirely. This General’s opinion was,
 “ that the enemy’s design was not to attack us. Your Majesty coming up afterwards,
 “ I had the honour to acquaint you with every thing I had done, and you expressed in
 “ strong terms your approbation of all.

“ I fhall not take notice of what happened during the action ; your Majesty knows,
 “ that my opinion was, that without lofing time, we fhould make all the advantage we
 “ could of the victory we had gained. When the army arrived at Hannau, I propofed
 “ to feize on Hochftet, and lay a bridge over the Mayne, to pafs the river, and to pof-
 “ our army in fuch a manner as to hinder the enemy from getting back over the
 “ Rhine ; which, from what had paffed on that fide of the Danube, I judged would
 “ foon happen. I preffed the fame advice with your Majesty, by the means of Gene-
 “ ral Ligonier ; I am utterly ignorant how it came to pafs that it was not followed. I
 “ propofed afterwards to lay bridges over the Mayne on the fide of Hannau, whereby
 “ we might be in a condition to take all poffible advantages of the enemy’s conduct, in
 “ cafe they fhould think fit to quit the river. This being over, I told your Majesty
 “ there was only one means left to maintain your fuperiority over the French, viz. to
 “ embark all the foot, and fend them down the Rhine, and march them with all pof-
 “ fible expedition towards Flanders. I cannot help ftill repeating that fame advice.

“ I have received feveral marks of contempt for my advice, even in the view of the
 “ whole army, particularly of the Englifh troops. Pofts of command that became va-
 “ cant, and ufed to be difpofed of by the recommendation of the commander in chief,
 “ were given away without my knowledge ; and fome particular Generals were named
 “ to command at the head of the line whilft I was there prefent. I have ferved under
 “ the two greateft Generals of their time ; their confidence and favour have procured
 “ me a knowledge of the plans and difpofitions which they made for operations.

“ At the end of the war I was ftripped of all my employments, on account of my
 “ attachment to the Houfe of Hanover. At the late King’s acceffion I was fent to the
 “ Court of France as Ambaffador : my conduct at that Court is fufficiently known. I
 “ had the misfortune not to pleafe your Majesty’s minifter ; but that never in the leaft
 “ cooled my zeal for the advancement of your glory, and the public good, as far as
 “ was in my power. In 1734, I got a plan delivered to your Majesty for forming an
 “ army on the Mofelle, which would infallibly have made you arbiter of Europe.
 “ When Marefchal Maillebois marched into Bohemia, I formed another plan for affem-
 “ bling an army in Flanders, with which, if it had been readily executed, it would
 “ have been eafy to penetrate as far as Paris. No ambition, or any hopes of raifing
 “ my fortune, could, at my age, have engaged me to quit my retirement ; no other
 “ motive but the hopes of contributing to your glory, and of being ufeful to the pu-
 “ blic, could have drawn me from thence. I flatter myfelf, that in regard of what I
 “ have reprefented to your Majesty, you will be pleafed to think that Lord Stair is an
 “ honeft man, though a ftranger to art and cunning. I fhall leave it to your Ma-
 “ jefty as my political teftament, never to feparate yourfelf from the Houfe of Austria.

PART III. "If ever you do, France will treat you as she did Queen Anne, and all the Courts
BOOK I. "that were guided by her councils.

1693.

"I hope your Majesty will give me leave to return to my plough, without any mark
"of your displeasure."

It is a family report, that a proposal made by Lord Stair to the Dutch during his embassy in Holland, in the year before the battle of Dettingen, to carry a Dutch, Hanoverian, and English army into France, and the warmth with which he pressed it in the English cabinet, were the reasons why Lord Carteret (with whom he was always in bad terms, and to whom he refers in that part of the memorial in which he says, that he is a stranger to art and cunning) advised the King to go abroad to take the command of the army, lest Lord Stair had turned upon France, instead of continuing on the Rhine.

The memorial is curious upon another account, because it shews that after the King joined the army, all regular command ceased, and that the general was no longer general: So that Lord Stair was not answerable for any event after that period, except for drawing up the army on the day of the battle, which saved it. When Mareschal Noailles from a steeple saw the disposition, and Count Grammont make his imprudent attack with the Gens d'armes, he came down shrugging his shoulders, and said, "J'ai manqué mon coup." "I have missed my blow."

The principles on which Lord Stair formed his opinion of attacking France by marching to Paris, are confirmed by that of the best military critic that ever wrote, the Marquis De Feuquiers. In the year 1667, almost all the strong places between the frontiers of France and Brussels were in the possession of Spain, and lay in the way of Lewis XIV. to get at Brussels, if he had attempted it; yet Feuquiers says, that the French army ought to have passed them all without fear, and made the country round that capital and centre of the Spanish Netherlands the theatre of the war. He states the objections and the answers to them, in terms which exactly apply to the project of the Earl of Stair. "Some persons may perhaps object to me, the difficulty of accommodating the
"army with provisions, in their march from the frontiers of the kingdom, to that centre
"of the Netherlands; but if the army had been only provided with a sufficient subsistence
"for a march of five or six days, is it credible, that it could possibly fail of a supply,
"from the large and defenceless towns that are round Brussels? I am sensible I may be
"likewise told, that it would have been impracticable to convey, to so great a distance,
"the heavy artillery, and those ammunitions of war which would have been necessary
"for the conquest of Brussels, had that city been disposed to make a vigorous defence;
"but I may justly answer, that in the season of the year, when that campaign should have
"opened, the horses would not have been employed in any part of husbandry, for
"which reason, all the carriages in Picardie and Champagne, might have been applied
"to this conveyance; so that it was not any impossibility of effecting this great movement, that prevented its accomplishment." The only difference between the two cases is, that in carrying the war from France to Brussels, the stores and provisions would have been carried by land; whereas, in going from Normandy to Paris, the army must have been supplied chiefly from the sea. But the difference is not material; for in the first war of the grand alliance, when most of the Netherlands were in the hands of the allies, Lewis XIV. was obliged to bring the stores and provisions for his army every

winter by sea to Calais and Dunkirk. In the late American war they sailed across the Atlantic.

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The following anecdotes of Lord Stair, who certainly was one of the first characters of the age, because he joined all the fine accomplishments of a French nobleman to the great qualities of a Roman and a Briton, may not be unacceptable to the public. When all his offices and honours were taken from him by Sir Robert Walpole, for voting in Parliament against the excise-scheme, he retired to Scotland, and put his estate into the hands of trustees, to pay bills drawn by him in his magnificent embassy at Paris, which administration had refused to accept, reserving only a hundred pounds a month for himself. During this period, he was often seen holding the plough three or four hours at a time. Yet on receiving visits of ceremony, he could put on the great man and the great style of living; for he was fond of adorning a fine person with graceful dress; and two French horns and a French cook had refused to quit his service when he retired. When the messenger brought the late King's letter for him to take the command of the army, he had only ten pounds in the house. He sent expresses for the gentlemen of his own family, shewed the King's letter, and desired them to find money to carry him to London. They asked how much he wanted, and when they should bring it; his answer was, "the more the better, and the sooner the better." They brought him three thousand guineas. The circumstance came to the late King's ears, who expressed to his ministers the uneasiness he felt at Lord Stair's difficulties in money-matters. One proposed that the King should make him a present of a sum of money when he arrived. Another said, Lord Stair was so high spirited, that if he was offered money, he would run back to his own country, and they should lose their general. A third suggested, that to save his delicacy, the King should give him six commissions of cornets to dispose of, which, at that time, sold for a thousand pounds a-piece. The King liked this idea best, and gave the commissions blank to Lord Stair, saying, they were intended to pay for his journey and equipage. But in going from court to his own house, he gave all the six away.

Lord Stair's judgement of men appeared in his choice of the three friends whom he carried in his coach to London to provide for; the late Sir John Pringle, afterwards President of the Royal Society; Mr Keith, afterwards ambassador at Berlin and Vienna; and Sir Laurence Dundas; men of superior talents in their different lines, and of good birth, but at that time no favourites of fortune. He was well repaid. I have seen the two first, at fourscore years of age, cry when the name of Stair was mentioned; and Sir Laurence Dundas, through the whole of his life, marked his gratitude by an affectionate kindness to every branch of his Lordship's family.

John Duke of Argyle, who knew well that the artifices of Lord Carteret would find opportunities to create differences between persons of such high spirits as the King and his General, said, that Lord Stair's vanity had made him take the command of the army, and his pride would make him throw it up.

As the following anecdote marks the manners of the age during the Duke of Marlborough's wars, and the character of another singular man, I shall hazard it. Lord Mark Ker and Lord Stair were at play in a coffeehouse, when a stranger overlooked

PART III. their game, and disturbed them with questions. Lord Mark said, "Let us throw the
BOOK I. "dice which of us shall pink (a cant word of the time for fighting) this impudent fel-
"low." They threw. Lord Stair won. Lord Mark Ker cried out, "Ah, Stair, Stair,
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When Lord Stair was ambassador at Paris during the regency, he gave orders to his coachman to give way to no body except the King, meaning, that an English ambassador should take the pass, even of the regent, but without naming him. The Host was seen coming down a street through which the coach passed. The late Colonel Young, from whom I had the story, who was master of horse, rode to the window of the coach, and asked Lord Stair, if he would be pleased to give way to God Almighty. He answered, "by all means, but to none else;" and then stepping out of the coach, paid respect to the religion of the country in which he was, and kneeled in a very dirty street.

Lewis XIV. was told, that Lord Stair was one of the best bred men in Europe. "I shall soon put that to the test," said the King; and asking Lord Stair to take an airing with him, as soon as the door of the coach was opened, he bade him pass and go in: The other bowed and obeyed. The King said, "the world is in the right in the character it gives: another person would have troubled me with ceremony."

During the rebellion in the year 1745, the clan of Glencò were quartered near the house of Lord Stair. The Pretender being afraid they would remember, that the warrant for the massacre of their clan had been signed by the Earl's father, sent a guard to protect the house. The clan quitted the rebel army, and were returning home : the Pretender sent to know their reason. Their answer was, that they had been affronted ; and when asked what the affront was, they said, " the greatest of any ; for they had been suspected of being capable of visiting the injuries of the father upon the innocent and brave son." He was brave indeed ; a sure proof of which was, that he used all the influence and power he possessed, to obtain mercy for those rebels against whom he had commanded one of the armies which guarded England.

B O O K II.

LOSS of the Smyrna Fleet.—Bad Success in the West Indies.—Shipwreck of Sir Francis Wheeler.—Campaign.—Session of Parliament, and King's Reconciliation with Whigs.—He refuses a Place Bill.—Enquiry into the Loss of the Smyrna Fleet,—and into Mismanagements in Ireland.—French Offers of Peace refused.

Anno 1693.

THE history of mankind, which, in ancient times, and in modern times, until the rise of the trading republics of Italy, was a relation of the events of wars and governments, is, since this last period, become in many nations a history of trade; because the fates of war and of government have often depended upon the fate of trade. In the last century, the distant commerce of England, which in our days embraced, and had almost engrossed the traffic of Asia, Africa, North America, and the West Indies, was confined chiefly to the West Indies, where the French, at that time, raised few sugars; to the Mediterranean, of the trade of which the grand alliance gave a monopoly to Holland and England, because the war with Spain, Savoy, and the Emperor, excluded France from it; and to the Levant, for the English, at that time, possessed most of the trade which the French have since won from them there by their vicinity to the markets, and the facility with which the southern parts of France can accommodate their manufactures to the demands of countries whose climates are so similar to their own. After the nation had been saved from invasion by the defeat of the French fleet at La Hogue, it became, therefore, a great object of government to provide safety for the fleets of merchantmen which were

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to fail to the West Indies, or to pass the Straits of Gibraltar. On this account, Sir Francis Wheeler had been sent, in the beginning of the year 1693, with a squadron of twelve ships, to convoy the trade to the West Indies, and, with 1500 troops, to make an impression on the French settlements in seas where they had no fleet to protect them; and part of the combined fleets of England and Holland was intended to convoy, in the spring, through the Straits, from England, a fleet of rich merchantmen, which was, by this time, accumulated to more than 400 ships, because many of them had been obliged to lie in harbour above a year from want of convoy.

THE French, in the mean time, had spent the autumn and winter of the year 1692, in the most extraordinary exertions at Brest, under Marechal Tourville, and at Toulon, under the Count D'Etrees, to repair their old, and build a new navy*, with a view to make a junction in the ocean, and intercept this last fleet in its passage. The English fleet, commanded by the three Admirals, Shovel, Killigrew, and De Laval, jointly, and consisting of eighty-three line of battle ships, did not fail from St Helen's till the beginning of June. But as it was more difficult for the English to get intelligence from France, because they could get it only in the common way of paying spies, than for the French to get intelligence from England, where the greatest and meanest equally, from the idea of serving the late king, pressed forward to give intelligence for nothing†, Tourville took care to sail from Brest a fortnight before, but unknown to the English Admirals; for though a letter from France, that could be trusted, inclosing a list of ships, and containing intelligence that the Brest fleet was sailed, had been shewn publicly at the council-board by Lord Nottingham; yet by a strange fatality, arising either from his own carelessness, or from the treachery of

* Burchet says they built sixteen ships of the line in eighteen months.

† One of the instructions of King James, to such members of the church of England as were faithful to him, was in these words: "That exact accounts be sent of the fleet, how the preparations go on weekly, that his Majesty may know when they can go out, and how strong, which is of great importance: That his Majesty know who commands at sea in the winter, what ships are out, and their stations." M'Pherson's State Papers, vol. i. p. 454. As the clergy are spread every where over the country, it was impossible [for him to employ better intelligencers.

those to whom he committed the care of forwarding the papers to the Admirals, the list was sent to them, but not the letter*. The Admirals, therefore, thought they had provided sufficiently for the safety of the convoy, when they conducted it fifty leagues south of Ushant, and then sent Sir George Rooke on with it in a squadron of twenty-three ships, which, it was known, was a greater force than the French could dispatch from Toulon. And on the 6th of June they returned north, to defend England against a fleet, which, in the south, with a far different view, was already in the bay of Logos waiting for the convoy, which the return of the English Admirals had exposed to its mercy.

WHEN Tourville's leaving Brest was known in England, advice-boats were instantly sent to Sir George Rooke, to advertise him of his danger, and to the Admirals to sail after him. But the dispatch did not overtake Rooke; and the Admirals, instead of obeying their orders, expressed their fears to the Council of England, lest the two French fleets had joined, gone north about, and should invade the coast of England, while her whole naval force was on the coasts of Spain; and they desired fresh orders.

IN the mean time, the scouts of Sir George Rooke's fleet had, on the 16th of June, discovered ten ships of war in Logos bay, together with some smaller vessels, one of which Sir George took, and probably was intended to be taken; for she fell into his hands in the night-time, and all the prisoners concurred in giving false intelligence, that their fleet consisted of no more than fifteen ships; that they had been becalmed in Logos bay, and had taken that opportunity to water there, and that the squadron had forty store-ships and merchantmen under convoy; trusting, by this means, to induce the English fleet to advance, from the double prospect of security and of plunder. Upon this intelligence, Sir George Rooke, in the morning, bore along the shore upon the enemy; but, in the afternoon, discovered a vast navy lying promiscuously together, as far as the eye could reach in the bay of Logos, and sixteen ships making to him. He brought to, and stood off with an easy sail, in order to give time to the heavy failers to work

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* Enquiry in the Journals of Parliament this year.

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away to the windward; and gave orders for the ships under the shore, which could not get out to sea, to take shelter in Faro, St Lucar, and Cadiz. When the enemy's fleet came up with Sir George Rooke's, the three sternmost ships of his squadron, which were Dutch, together with a considerable number of merchantmen, tacked for the shore, being conscious that they could not avoid being taken if they kept the sea. The French ships, as fast as they came up, followed them, allured by the same hopes of plunder, and the inferiority of the force they were to attack, which had drawn Sir George Rooke into Logos bay. But the three Dutch ships*, to save the rest of the fleet sacrificing themselves, made a desperate defence against eighteen French ships, and gave time to the rest of the fleet to get off, by which Tourville lost the greatest opportunity, that fortune ever threw in the way of a sea-officer, to gain glory and fortune without danger, seeing the value of the fleet was above four millions. However, besides the three Dutch ships of war, and an English one taken, fourscore of the merchantmen were taken or destroyed, and the value of the whole loss was a million Sterling. Of the rest, some escaped into Spanish ports, but the great body sailed with Sir George Rooke to Madeira. A few days after the engagement, Tourville ranged along the ports of Cadiz, Gibraltar, and Malaga, where he took or burnt two ships of war, and about twenty merchantmen, who had taken refuge in them.

Rooke sailed to Ireland, and from thence joined the great fleet, which, with a view to intercept Tourville in his return to Brest, at a time when he was, on the contrary, carrying the maritime glories of France along the coasts of the ocean and the Mediterranean, took the same ominous station, fifty leagues south of Ushant, where, a few weeks before, the Admirals had taken their farewell of Rooke, when they sent him forward with his convoy. Here a calamity, still greater than that which had happened, nearly befel the fleet; for fifty store-ships that had been sent with provisions from England for the fleet, which, in its hurry, had sailed with very few, missed it for some time, and above fourscore great ships of war ran a risk of wanting provisions. The fleets returned to St Helen's in the end of August; and ridicule was added to disgrace, when spectators beheld four regi-

* Gazette 1693, July 17.

ments of infantry disembark, which had been put on board four months before, to make a descent on the coast of France. The great fleet was then laid up in harbour during the rest of the season.

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SIR FRANCIS WHEELER's expedition was equally unsuccessful: In conjunction with General Codrington, Governor of the Leeward Islands, who brought 800 men with him that had been raised in those islands, he made an attempt in April on Martinico, which, after being landed for a week, without opposition, but without doing any thing, was disappointed by the same three causes which have proved fatal to so many others in West Indian regions; the imprudence of exposing troops, lately brought from Europe, to fatigues, military exercise, and marches, which it is impossible for them to bear, troops who should never be made use of, except in the day of battle; the wrong policy of not converting negroes, habituated to the climate, and to live on any provisions, into soldiers, exercised and officered by Europeans, in the same way as is now practised with regard to seapoys in India, with a promise of liberty if they behave well; a measure, of which a child might see the good sense, but to which military pedantry has never assented*; and, above all, disputes between the sea and land officers, which, it is impossible to avoid in climates where the spirits of Europeans, raised and disturbed, their passions irritated, their impatience under sickness, at the miseries which they see all around them, and to return to happier regions, throw a kind of temporary insanity over the minds of men. He pointed at attempts, rather than made them, on other places, and, in the beginning of winter, returned to England, with his ships eaten with worms, and loaded with barnacles, and most of his crews either dead or dying, or dragging along a life of disease that was worse than death.

Bad success
in the West
Indies.

THE misfortunes of the nation, and of Wheeler by sea, in summer, were wound up by that which befel him in winter: For having been sent to conduct the trade to Spain and the Mediterranean, he was shipwrecked in his passage through the Straits, and lost his life, several of his ships, and a number of merchantmen.

Sir Francis
Wheeler lost.

* The measure was tried on the Spanish main in the last war, by some officers of more genius than rank, and succeeded perfectly.

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Campaign on
the continent.

THE campaign on the continent of Europe, was also unfortunate. In Germany the French took Heidelberg, in Spain Roses, in the Netherlands Huy and Charleroy. In the last of these countries, the Marechal Luxemburg defeated the Dutch and English, commanded by King William, in a great battle at Landen; and in Italy, the Marechal Catenatt defeated the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene in another at Marfiglia. The first of these actions was made remarkable by General Churchill's taking his nephew, the Duke of Berwick, son to King James, prisoner, and bringing him to his brother-in-law King William; the other, because it was the first general action in Europe, in which the attack was made by the bayonet and sword alone, after the rapid manner of attack used in Roman armies, and was therefore decisive. The Duke of Berwick, in his memoirs, says, that when he was carried prisoner to the King, the first thing that struck him, who had never seen the King before, was, his eye like that of an eagle. One circumstance of the meeting related by the Duke, marks the taciturn manner, and another, the phlegm of the King. For he took his hat off, but did not speak to the Duke; and though it be known from history, that he exposed his life in an extreme degree in that action *, as he always did when his doing so was necessary; yet the Duke found him at a time when it was not necessary to do so, half a mile distant from the field, and giving his orders with as much calmness, as if the action had been over.

Session of
Parliament,
and reconcilia-
tion with
the whigs.

At the end of such accumulated misfortunes by sea and by land, the King met his Parliament in November. There is no governing England without calling a little of the trick of party to the aid of government; because, in a country in which all take a side, even on the most abstract parts of politics, many flock to whoever holds up the standard of their opinions, who would not rank behind himself, and account his victories to be their own, though they gain nothing by them. The whig party, which, in the convention Parliament, had chiefly contributed to place the King on the throne, could with ease have insured success in Parliament to his measures; but being afraid that his auxiliaries might become his masters, he had taken power from them, and

* The Gazette says he even threw off his armour, that his movements might be more easy.

thrown it into the hands of the tory party, hoping that when neither side had the superiority over the other, he could command both, by throwing his weight into whichever of the two scales he pleased. But the last session of Parliament had shewn him, that this refinement in politics was dangerous; for Lord Caermarthen, in the memorial which I mentioned in the last book, told the King, "His ministers agreed in opinion, that nobody knew one day what the House of Commons would do the next." And, accordingly, most questions of importance had been decided only by a few votes; the consequence of which was, delay in his business, and uncertainty in the issue of it. To remedy this, he now resolved, by the advice of Lord Sunderland, to divide the whig party. With this view, in the spring of the year 1693, he had recalled the commission of the Great Seal, because those who held it were of little consequence to him, and gave it to Sir John Somers, and appointed Sir John Trenchard, the friend of the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth, to be Secretary of State, in place of Lord Sidney, with whom he could take freedom, without disobliging him. He changed many of the magistracies in the counties*, in favour of the whig party, filled the Admiralty-board with whigs, and appointed Mr Montague, of the same party, to be Chancellor of the Exchequer; a man remarkable for one of the most useful habits, in which an Englishman minister can indulge, that of opening his doors to projectors of all kinds; because he said, that from some one or other of them, he always learned something which he had not thought of before. Employment was even offered to Lord Marlborough, but which he refused, because he had asked †, but

* M'Pherson's State Papers.

† Captain Lloyd's report to King James, of 1st May 1694, contains these words: "The first person they brought me to was Lord Churchill, to whom I showed my instructions; at the same time informing him, that your Majesty having heard that he was to have an employment, had commanded me to assure him from you, that you was highly pleased at this, and gave him your consent to accept of it; and left him at liberty to employ the properest means for obtaining it, having no doubts of his fidelity."

"Lord Churchill answered me, that it was true, that he had been solicited some time ago to accept of an employment; but that he did not chuse to accept of it without your Majesty's consent, which he had demanded by the means of Major-General Sackfield, without whom he did not move a step: That the affair was now passed, but, if it occurred again, which might well happen, he would not accept, but from a design of serving

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had not got permission from the late King to accept it. Ruffel was replaced in his station of Admiral, in place of the three unlucky joint admirals, and Lord Shrewsbury reappointed Secretary of State, in place of Lord Nottingham, who was become unpopular by his conduct of naval business. And the King, further to obtain his purpose, scrupled not to do what no English monarch had done before him; for he created one Marquis and five Dukes, nearly at one time*; and four of the Dukes were of the whig party, those of Bedford, Newcastle, Devonshire and Shrewsbury. In the former volume of these memoirs, I related an anecdote, and gave my authority for it, that at a period when it was of consequence to the King to appear to be reconciled to the whig party, and to be supported by them, Lord Shrewsbury having scrupled to accept the place of Secretary of State, the King sent a Colonel of the guards to inform him, that he had orders either to conduct him to the tower on account of the King's knowledge of his private negotiations with King James, or to leave the seals with him. The story is made more probable, by the publication of Mr M'Pherson's State Papers, since I wrote, which shew that the seals were accepted by Lord Shrewsbury with reluctance. And therefore if the anecdote be true, it must have happened at this period †.

“serving your Majesty, for whose re-establishment he was determined to resign his life, for expiating his crimes.” M'Pherson's Papers, vol. 1. p. 480.

King James in his Memoirs, *anno* 1694, also says, “Lord Churchill wrote him that he himself was solicited to come into office; but that he would do nothing without the King's consent.” M'Pherson's State Papers, vol. 1. p. 245.

* The Marquis of Normandy, the Duke of Leeds, and the four Dukes above mentioned.

† King James writes thus in a memorial either to Louis the XIV. or his ministers: “The Earl of Shrewsbury, who was Secretary of State to the Prince of Orange, laid down his employment by my orders.” M'Pherson's State Papers, vol. 1. p. 435. Captain Lloyd's report of his negotiations in England to King James, of 1st May 1694, contains these words: “I went to wait on the Countess of Shrewsbury, who was sick. I made her the compliments I was ordered by your Majesty and the Queen. In return to which, she answered me with all the sentiments of duty and affection for your interests. She afterwards told me how her son the Earl of Shrewsbury had been obliged to accept of an employment; the Prince of Orange having sent for him, to offer him the post of Secretary of State, which he refused, on account of his bad health. But the Prince of Orange showed him, that he had a very different reason, by repeating to him a discourse which he had held about your Majesty. This surprised the Earl of Shrewsbury

THE King's address produced the effect he intended: Though the nation was full of discontents with government, on account of disappointment, mismanagement and calamity, yet no appearance of displeasure was seen in their representatives. Instead of covering the losses of the nation in his speech to Parliament, he spoke them fairly out, and from thence inferred the necessity of greater supplies of money, soldiers and seamen, than Parliament had ever given before. Urged by the state of the public, or by the state of party, or rather perhaps by both, Parliament voted 83,000 land forces, exclusive of officers, and 40,000 seamen.

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BUT amidst their compliance with his requests, they presented a *place* bill: He refused his assent, either because he acted by system, in his opinions, or because he submitted to let a Parliament, which had favoured him in this session so much, gain the popularity of passing the bill, though at his expence in refusing it. This last is the more probable, because, although the Commons presented an address, complaining of his refusal, in which they claimed merit from "having voted such large supplies in the public service," yet they carried the matter no farther.

William refuses a place-bill

Both Houses enquired into the causes of the miscarriages by sea, and the Commons voted "that there had been a notorious and treacherous mismanagement;" but while the officers of the fleet laid the blame on Lord Nottingham, Lord Nottingham on them and the public offices,

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"Shrewsbury much, and convinced him of the danger of refusing the employment; but as he expected a descent in England in a few days, he demanded some time to go to the country, on account of his health and other pressing business, before he received the seals. The Prince of Orange having granted this, he went to the country, accompanied by his friends, well mounted, with an intention of joining your Majesty, in case you had come, as was expected and wished. But that having failed, to his great regret, he was obliged, on his return, to accept of the seals; which she told me, from him, he did only in order to serve your Majesty more effectually hereafter." M'Pherson's State Papers, vol. I. p. 481.

And King James in his Memoirs, says, he was informed by Lord Churchill, "that Lord Shrewsbury was so pressed to receive his former office of Secretary, that he was afraid he could not resist. But though he altered his condition, he assured him that he would not alter his inclinations; yet Churchill himself was the adviser of Shrewsbury, hoping he would do himself the same good turn."

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the public offices on both, and the nation, perhaps with more justice, on all the three, it became difficult to fix it any where with precision, and is become now impossible; because the evidence is not preserved in the Journals of the Houses, as was done the preceding year in the recriminations between Admiral Ruffel and Lord Nottingham.

LORD Bellamont also proposed an enquiry into the late mismanagements in Ireland, by presenting articles of impeachment against Lord Conningby and Sir Charles Porter, the Lords Justices there. But the same nature of a popular government, and of the slow proceedings of Parliament, which secures most offenders of impunity, where the interest of party is not concerned, screened all those persons against whom the accusations were pointed, and the people were left to their usual consolation under public injuries, the unbounded liberty of private complaint.

The King
refuses peace.

ENCOURAGED with the success of a session, from which he had much to fear, and perhaps flattered with his situation as centre of the grand alliance, the King refused offers of peace communicated to him this winter through the mediation of the King of Denmark, in which Lewis, who and whose people were dejected with a famine, offered to restore all he had conquered during the war, and that the Spanish Netherlands should fall to the Duke of Bavaria, if the King of Spain died without issue. But as the memorial contained no offer of acknowledging William's title to his throne, he refused to listen to it; and as the French King's disputing that title, had been the cause of the war between England and France, no complaint was made in Parliament of William's refusal. Perhaps his reconciliation with the whigs, the measures which he still however preserved with the tories, and the fluctuating hopes for power, in which he kept both parties, contributed to this silence in Parliament: For had men considered the interest of their country, instead of that of their party, or their own, they might have been satisfied with terms, which would have ended the war, taken from France her conquests, and secured the Spanish Netherlands to a prince who was able to defend against France, what Spain could not; although the recognition of the King's title had been left to the chance, or rather the certainty, of being taken care of in the course of the treaty.

B O O K III.

Treachery of the Great in England.—Attack on Brest betrayed and defeated.—French Fleet blocked up at Toulon.—Turn in the Scale of the War, and in the State of the Nation. —Session of Parliament. —Modesty of William.—Triennial Bill passed.—Enquiry into Corruptions.—Impeachment of the Duke of Leeds.—Queen's Death, and King's Reconciliation with the Princess.

A. D. 1694.

THE year 1694 is made remarkable by an event, which, without the aid of any other cause, accounts for all the bad success of King William's war by land and by sea, though conducted by a Prince of abilities, commanding a people enriched by long peace, and unbroke by war; because it proves, that his councils were betrayed to Lewis XIV. by the greatest persons in his service.

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Treachery of
those around
the throne.

THE difficulty of forcing the French to general actions in the open sea, the impossibility of blocking up their fleets for any considerable time at Brest in the stormy sea of the Bay of Biscay, or at Toulon in the swelling sea of the Gulph of Lyons, had satisfied the King, that the only way to conquer the fleets of France was in their own harbours; and the sufferings of the trade of England, which not only weakened the nation, but impaired the revenue, and which had arisen greatly from the vicinity of Brest to the English coasts, made him resolve to attack that place, by making a lodgement on the neck of land which separates the road of Brest from the road of Cameret, and commands the bay, the harbour, and the river; but his intention was betrayed to the late King, by intelligence in the spring from Lord Godolphin, first Lord of the Treasury, and afterwards by a letter from Lord Marlborough, eldest Lieutenant-general in the service, of date the 4th of May, in the same way as a project against Toulon was betrayed two years afterwards by Lord Sunderland. Marlborough's letter, with a strange endeavour, yet natural desire, even in the most wicked, to reconcile their profligacy with their duty, in their own eyes, and those of others, contained the following words: "This will be a great advantage to England. But no advantage can prevent, or

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“ever shall prevent me, from informing you of all that I believe
“to be for your service. Therefore you may make your own use of
“this intelligence, which you may depend upon being exactly true.”
But the letter from General Sackfield to Lord Mellfort, which inclo-
fed that from Lord Marlborough, spoke out more plainly the advan-
tage which the intelligence given to James would prove to France.
The words are: “I send the letter by an express, judging it to be of
“the utmost consequence for the service of the King my master, and
“consequently for the service of his Most Christian Majesty.” The
evidence of Lord Sunderland’s treachery (for the evidence of such
extraordinary facts should be referred to) is to be found in a let-
ter from the Earl of Arran, his son-in-law, to King James; the
treachery of Godolphin, in Captain Lloyd’s report of his negotiations
in England to King James; and of Lord Marlborough, in his letter to
King James, and General Sackfield’s letter inclosing it to Lord Mellfort;
all lately published by Mr M’Pherson *. The originals of the two last

* Lloyd’s report to King James, in M’Pherson’s *State Papers*, vol. 1. p. 480.

*Translation of a letter in cyphers from Mr Sackfield, Major-general of his Britannic Ma-
jesty’s forces, to the Earl of Mellfort.*

May 3. 1694.

“I have just now received the inclosed for the King. It is from Lord Churchill;
“but no person but the Queen and you must know from whom it comes. Therefore,
“for the love of God, let it be kept a secret, even from Lord Middleton. I send it
“by express, judging it to be of the utmost consequence for the service of the King
“my master; and consequently for the service of his Most Christian Majesty. You see,
“by the contents of this letter, that I am not deceived, in the judgment I formed of
“Admiral Russel; for that man has not acted sincerely, and I fear he never will act
“otherwise.”

A Translation of Lord Churchill’s letter to the King of England.

“It is only to-day I have learned the news I now write you, which is, that the
“bomb-ketches and the twelve regiments encamped at Portsmouth, with the two re-
“giments of marines, all commanded by Talmash, are destined for burning the harbour
“of Brest, and destroying all the men of war, which are there. This will be a great
“advantage to England. But no consideration can prevent, or ever shall prevent me,
“from informing you of all that I believe to be for your service. Therefore you may
“make your own use of this intelligence, which you may depend upon being exactly
“true. But I must conjure you, for your own interest, to let no one know but the
“Queen, and the bearer of this letter.”

“Russel sails to-morrow with forty ships, the rest being not yet paid; but it is said,
“that in ten days the rest of the fleet will follow, and at the same time the land forces.

letters are not in existence in the Scots College at Paris, where the other two papers are. But the copies were found among the other official papers of Nairne, Under-secretary of State to Lord Mellfort, and one of them has an interlineation in Lord Mellfort's hand-writing. And, in King James's Memoirs, I have seen a memorandum in his own hand-writing, that Lord Churchill had, on the 4th of May, given him information of the design upon Brest. I was told by the late Principal Gordon, of the Scots College at Paris, that, during the hostilities between the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Oxford, near the end of the Queen's reign, Lord Oxford, who had got intelligence of the Duke's letter, and pretended, at that time, to be in the interests of the exiled family, applied for, and got an order for the original; and that his making the Duke know that his life was in his hands, was the cause of the Duke's going into a voluntary exile to Bruffells in the year 1712: And, indeed, so extraordinary a step as that exile, must have had an extraordinary cause. It is known too from the history of the times, that there was a private meeting between the Duke and Lord Oxford, at Mr Thomas Harley's house, to which the Duke came by a back door, immediately after which he left England. I have also heard from the late Archbishop of York, grandson to the Earl of Oxford, that he had been informed, that the Duchess of Marlborough, after the death of those two persons, had contrived to get the letter from Lord Oxford's papers, and destroyed it.

THE King of France no sooner heard of the intended expedition to Brest, than he instantly dispatched Mareschal Vauban to repair the old, and raise new fortifications, and a large body of troops to defend them.

KING WILLIAM intended that the attempt should have been made in the spring. But Admiral Ruffel, by private orders from King James, having accepted the command of the fleet, which had been

Attempt on
Brest disap-
pointed.

"I have endeavoured to learn this some time ago from Admiral Ruffel. But he always denied it to me, though I am very sure, that he knew the design for more than six weeks. This gives me a bad sign of this man's intentions. I shall be very well pleased to learn, that this letter comes safe to your hands." M'Pherson's State Papers, vol. 1. p. 487.

Lord Arran's letter to King James, of date 13th March 1695, contains these words: "With regard to news, it is certain, that the preparations that are made here for the Mediterranean, are designed for attacking Toulon, if it is possible. It is Lord Sunderland who has given me in charge to assure your Majesty of this."

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taken from him the year before, and King James having given private instructions, through the hands of the Countess of Shrewsbury, to him, the Duke of Leeds, the Lords Shrewsbury, Godolphin and Marlborough, and others, to create delays in the fitting out of the fleet*; Lord Berkley who commanded it, was not ready to sail till the first week of June. He carried with him twenty-nine ships of war, and a number of fire-ships and bomb-ketches, with General Talmache, twelve regiments of infantry, and two of marines. When they approached the shore, they found it lined with intrenchments and batteries, that were visible, with a great body of infantry and marines, with cavalry drawn up in regular order behind them. But when the ships advanced, three batteries opened, which till then had been concealed. Struck with the appearance, and not ashamed to own it, Talmache said: "The die is cast; we cannot, however, in honour retreat." The Marquis of Caermarthen covered the landing with equal courage, bravely fighting for that country which his father was betraying, but with a greater degree of danger than Talmache, because his ships were exposed not only to the same batteries with the troops, but to batteries from the opposite side of Brest river. Nine hundred soldiers landed in disorder, from the fears of the seamen, who are never to be trusted in steady service, or indeed in any service, out of their own ships; and their clamours mingling themselves with the regular commands of the troops, even after the landing was made good, increased the confusion; so that it was found impossible either to advance or to stand still. The French batteries and musquetry, ceasing all at one time, gave a momentary relief; but it was a fatal one: For the French dragoons were seen passing through openings in the intrenchments, previously prepared for them, and as fast as they formed, galloped down to complete the disorder on the beach. Unfortunately it was at that time the ebb of the tide, and many of the boats being a-ground, it was found difficult to get them a-float; by which accident, almost all the soldiers, and many of the seamen, exposed to a double danger, were killed, or obliged to ask quarter in the water. Four hundred seamen, and one ship of war were lost; the loss of the French was only forty-five men. Talmache wounded and dying†, pressed that the fire-ships and bomb-ketches should be carried up the river into the harbour,

* See a copy of these instructions in M'Pherson's State Papers, vol. I. p. 456.

† Burchet.

which he thought was probably left weak in the hurry to make the greater preparation in Cameret bay. He had been too prudent to disclose any suspicions of treachery during the expedition. But in the agonies of death, he, who had once had private connections* with the friends of the late King, was reported to have mixed in his expressions, a satisfaction of having died for his country, with complaints that he had fallen by the treachery of his countrymen.

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AFTER this disappointment, the English squadron ranged along the coast of France, in the Channel, and bombarded the towns of Dieppe, Havre de Grace and Calais, but failed at Dunkirk. Lewis XIV. retaliated the injury, by bombarding the noble city of Brussels. The English had an excuse; because in bombarding sea towns, they could destroy ships, docks, naval stores, and the timber-works of the harbours; the French had no excuse but revenge, or the hopes of saving themselves by the fear of their retaliating upon others. But the expence of these bombardments to both sides, exceeded by far the mischief that they did†; and therefore they only served to irritate the minds of nations against each other by bringing distress on private families.

French coast
bombarded.

IN the mean time, with a nobler aim, Admiral Ruffel had been sent in a fleet of near seventy English and Dutch ships of the line, in pursuit of Tourville, who had sailed from Brest with a great fleet for the Mediterranean, in order to attack the Spanish ports along that sea, all of which were in a defenceless state, and to assist Marechal Noailles in the siege of Barcelona, who was approaching to it with an army of 30,000 men. With that city Catalonia and Valentia must have fallen; and with these provinces, as rich by nature as any in Europe, (Flanders and Lombardy not excepted,) Spain must have fallen too. But at the sight of Ruffel's fleet in the Mediterranean, Noailles dropped his design, and Tourville retired for protection to Toulon, where he continued all summer. And to cut off his return to Brest in winter, Ruffel received orders to station his fleet during that season in the bay of Cadiz. The consequence of which was, that the French, discharging a vast number of seamen in one port, and that port distant from the rest, could never collect them again during the course of the war. By these means

French fleet
blocked up
in Toulon,
and turn of
the war.

* Sir John Fenwick's confession.

† Burchet.

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the whole face of the war came to be changed, so far as England had an immediate interest in it; for, Spain saved, the Mediterranean commanded, one French navy forced to keep within its harbour at Toulon, the junction of the Toulon and the Brest fleets prevented, the dispersion of the great body of the seamen of France, the French coasts insulted by bombardments, while those of England were safe, and no French ships of war seen in the Channel, the Ocean, or the Mediterranean, shewed Europe that England and Holland had at last recovered their superiority at sea, and that France, in her hurry to repair her loss at La Hogue, had overstrained herself in exertions, which, though spirited, were unnatural to her country.

And in the
state of the
nation.

THERE are three pulses which mark the health or sickness of England, all of which depend on the state of her foreign trade, These are the tonnage of her exporting trade, the produce of her customs, and the strength of her navy. Now, from the Revolution, down to a period soon after Russell's expedition to the Mediterranean, the prosperity of England had been in a continual state of degradation in these three respects. The tonnage of the merchant shipping outwards, English and foreign, which, at the Revolution, had been 285,800 tons, was sunk in the year 1693, to 206,590 tons, and in the year after was still lower, to wit, 142,780 tons. Of this shipping, the English portion, which, at the Revolution, consisted of 190,533 tons, was, in the year 1693, sunk to 118,088 tons, and in the year 1694 was still less, to wit, 73,056 tons; the remaining portion of the shipping outwards being entirely foreign, because the English, on account of the danger of capture, durst not carry on their trade on their own bottoms. The customs, although many new duties were imposed after the Revolution, fell annually L. 138,707, upon an average of seven years from that period. The navy of England, which, in the time of peace at the Revolution, carried 101,032 tons, was, in six years of war, increased little more than 10,000 tons*. But soon after the empire at sea was recovered, the private shipping, customs, and navy of England, continually increased during the reign

* *Vide* Mr Chalmer's Estimate, in one table of which, on half a sheet of paper, there is contained the substance of many volumes. But I cannot assent to the implicit faith which, in other parts of his publication, he has put in the paper called Mr Astles's Transcript.

of William. Before he died, the tonnage of the shipping cleared outwards, mounted to 337,328 tons, of which the English portion made 293,703. The customs, which, at the Revolution, produced 551,141, mounted to 1,474,861. The navy of England, which, at the Revolution, consisted of 6930 guns, and 42,003 men, rose to 10,078 guns and 53,921 men*. The consequence of all which was, that the export trade of England, which, at the Revolution, was L. 4,086,087, rose to L. 6,045,432; and the balance of trade, which, at the Revolution, was doubtful, rose, in favour of England, to L. 1,386,832 †.

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THE fate of a war at sea generally draws after it that of a war on the Continent, in contentions between England and France. The dejection of the French fleet this summer, seems to have affected the spirits of their countrymen elsewhere; for they lost Huy, and made no progress in the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, or Spain.

WILLIAM met his Parliament on the 12th of November: It is known that he wrote most of his speeches himself. These are easily distinguishable from the others, by French modes of expression, but more by the simplicity and brevity of his style, and the total want of all artifice in the thought. In his speech upon the present occasion, the singularity of the familiar, modest, and even diffident words, in which he mentioned the change of the face of the war, drew the attention to that change and to himself, much more than the most boastful expressions could have done; for from thence his subjects inferred the magnanimity of a King who could not be spoiled either by bad or by good fortune. His speech, in which I print in Italics the particular words that I allude to, was as follows:

Session of
Parliament.
Modesty of
William.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I AM glad to meet you here, when, *I can say*, our affairs are in
“ a better *posture*, both by sea and land, than when we parted last.

“ THE enemy has not been *in a condition* to oppose our fleet in these
“ seas; and our sending so great a force into the Mediterranean has
“ disappointed their designs, and *leaves us a prospect* of further success.

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* *Vide* Campbell, vol. 1. p. 304.; and vol. 2. p. 317.

† *Vide* Mr Chalmers.

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Triennial
bill passed.

“ With respect to the war by land, *I think I may say*, that this year
“ a *stop* has been put to the progress of the French arms.”

NATURE and simplicity affect senates as they do private persons, that is, always in favour of those who throw the expression of them into their manner. Parliament, without difficulty, provided large supplies for the war, in which near 88,000 land forces were * now paid by England. In return, they insisted for an act for triennial parliaments, and the King granted it, either because he was afraid by refusing the bill again, of being accounted too obstinate in his own opinions against those of his people; or because, as was said by many, he wished to become popular at a time when the Queen's approaching death, which happened a few days after, made him afraid of having his title called in question, and consequently made popularity, at that nice crisis, of the last consequence to him.

BUT the attention of this session was soon detached from almost every other object, and fixed almost solely to one.

Enquiry in-
to corrup-
tions.

THE wickedness which, as Thucydides observes, accompanies all civil wars of duration, because men can then commit abuse with impunity, added to the hypocrisy in which it was clothed during the times of Charles I. and Cromwell;—the affectation of libertinism, which, in the conquering, naturally succeeded to the affectation of purity in the conquered party, and which was made the mark of loyalty after the Restoration, together with the distribution of French money in Parliament during the reign of Charles II.;—the double part which almost the whole nation had acted, in their pretended submissions to the will of Charles II. at the end of his reign, and of his successor during the whole of his reign;—the treachery of multitudes in the time of King William, who could swear allegiance to one Prince, while they were plotting with another to dethrone him; and the want of all feeling of duty or shame, in those who communicated private intelligence to a foreign power at war with their country; together with a practice which had lately been introduced † by Sir John Trevor, Speaker of the House of Commons, to distribute money among the members, and

* Journal, Commons, Nov. 26. 1694.

† Burnet.

which the equal balance of parties obliged the King to yield to, in order to carry on public business, which might otherwise have been retarded or defeated; all these causes had spoiled the political morals of the nation at this period. And perhaps it is an advantage of the age in which we live over the last, that by making the alleged influence of government, whatever it may be, open in those who sit in Parliament, it has removed almost all unseen influence, and enabled the people to judge of the merit or demerit of the persons who are the objects of it. But the extent of the mischief arising from those causes, was not discovered until this session of Parliament, and came out by mere accident, and only by degrees; the discovery of one mean action leading to that of another, in the same way as the commission of one leads to that of others. The borough of Royston had complained to the House of Commons of some exactions of the officers of the army, under pretence that their men could not be subsisted without them: In the course of the enquiry by the House, it appeared, that the officers had defrauded the men, and that the agents for regiments had not only defrauded both, but had been guilty of bribing in public offices. The officers and agents complained, that they were selected to suffer for what others had done as well as they. Pity for the common men, the rank of the officers whose honour is their fortune, envy against the agents, who, far from danger themselves, were making fortunes at the expence of persons exposed to it; all these circumstances caught the public attention, which soon extended itself from the agents to the contractors for the clothing of the army, who were suspected of the same practices with the agents, and like them were unpopular, and for the same reasons. The storm at last reached Mr Guy secretary to the Treasury, who was said to have been bribed to pass army accounts. The difficulties which the agents and contractors raised against being examined, or producing their books in Parliament, increased the suspicion of the public, and the closeness of the scrutiny. Colonel Hastings, upon complaint of the House to the King, was cashiered: Some of the agents and contractors were taken into custody of the House; and others, among whom was Mr James Craggs, sent to the Tower, together with Mr Guy, who was dismissed from his office. Public clamour next fixed itself upon the commissioners for licensing hackney-coaches, whose misconduct had made a noise, from the device of one of their wives, to save the consciences of those who bribed her: For the

statute having required the person who got the licence, to swear that he had not paid above L. 50 for it, she told them, that the oath related to *giving*, but not to *intending to give*, and that *she would* not take the money till after *they had* taken the oath. Some of them were dismissed from their offices; one of whom was the same Colonel Villars, who had pulled down the houses of Lady Cromwell in Ireland, to save the expence of paying for his fewel. Public suspicion then seemed to stop for a while, not because it was removed, but because uncertain on what object to fall. At last it was recollected, that a bill for the relief of the orphans of London, which had hung long before Parliament, without any attention paid to it, had lately passed on a sudden. The cause of the fatherless and motherless, which affected the hearts of all, called for an enquiry, more for the chance than from the hopes of success. The books of the Chamberlain of London were examined by a committee of the Commons; when, to the astonishment of all, it was found, in a public minute of the books, that Sir John Trevor, their own Speaker, had received a present of 1000 guineas from the orphans for his services in procuring their bill; and that Mr Hungerford, the chairman of the committee, had also received a present. Trevor, who had filled the great offices of Speaker, Master of the Rolls, and Commissioner for keeping the Great Seal, had the singular mortification to be obliged to put the question upon the vote of the House which proclaimed his own disgrace; and both of them were soon after expelled.

WHEN the lines of private bribery were traced into Parliament, they were eagerly pursued, because the heat of party joined itself to public virtue. It had been remarked, that in the session before last, many persons had changed sides, on a bill for regulating the East India Company, without any visible reason that could induce them to do so; and that the Company, during the dependence of the bill, had very suddenly, and unknown to Parliament, obtained a new charter from the Crown. The books of the Company were examined, to see if the causes of these things could be found there. It was discovered, that, in the space of a few months, during the dependence of the bill and of the charter, above L. 90,000 had been expended on special services, which was near an hundred-fold more than the annual expence of such services in the late reign; that Sir Thomas Cook, a member of the House, and Governor of the East India Company, had expended

the money on secret services without account; and that five other members of the House, and who were in the government of the Company, had concurred in the orders for the money to Sir Thomas. Cook was examined by the House, but refused to answer how he had disposed of the money: The House committed him to the Tower, together with Mr Craggs, who had been engaged in the abuses of the India Company, as well as in those of the clothing of the army, and in both cases had refused to be examined by the House; and the Commons sent bills of pains and penalties to the other House to force them to make a discovery. When Cook was brought from the Tower to the bar of the House of Lords, to be heard in his defence against the bill, he offered to make a discovery, if he was himself indemnified: The Peers accepted the offer; an act of Parliament passed to indemnify him; and the Houses named a joint committee of 12 Peers and 24 Commoners to examine him, and prosecute the enquiry.

The public was big with expectation of the secrets that lay hid in the breast of Cook. Much pains in the mean time were taken * to stifle and obstruct the enquiry, by some for their own sakes, and by others from fears sometimes certain and sometimes uncertain, lest their friends should be involved. The innocent, on the other hand, pressed it forward to show that they were so, at the expence of those who were not; and some of the guilty to hide their consciousness of guilt. But it chiefly received wings from the love of curiosity, the envy and anger natural on such occasions. Cook, ashamed of his conduct at the bar of the House of Lords, endeavoured to repair it by not telling all he knew, and the Peers voted that he was not entitled to his indemnity. From his and other evidence, however, it came out at different times, piecemeal and reluctantly, that part of the money had been given to persons at Court, or about great men, and that the King himself had received L. 10,000. The nation stood aghast, believing that universal corruption had tainted the army, the public offices, the city, the India House, the Parliament and the Palace. The imputation on this last, indeed, remained but a short time; for the people gave a generous credit to their Prince, who was a foreigner, and who had taken only the customary present of L. 10,000 for renewing the charter, which their native Princes before him had received in lieu of their prerogative, impaired by such charters.

* Burnet.

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Impeach-
ment of the
Duke of
Leeds.

IN the course of those bills, the Duke of Leeds, by his violence in obstructing enquiries, and, at the same time, mingling with his arguments assertions of his own innocence, which nobody was calling in question, drew suspicion upon himself. Mr Bates, one of his particular friends, Sir Basil Firebrace, a merchant, connected equally with the Court, the India House, and the city, and others, were therefore examined with regard to him. The result of their evidence was, that the Duke was believed to have been originally an enemy to the views of the Company; that, to remove this difficulty from so high a station as that of the President of the Council, the offering him a present of 5000 guineas had been proposed and resolved on; that Bates had used his interest with the Duke in favour of the bill, and been successful; that above eighteen months previous to the enquiry, Bates told the Duke he had notes for 5000 guineas from the Governors of the Company, which he offered to the Duke, but he refused them; that he then asked the Duke's leave to let one of his servants, named Robarts, a Swiss, receive the guineas, as he was himself not expert at telling money; to which the Duke answered, he gave him leave; and that Robarts received the money immediately after. But the fact was, that whether the Duke did, or did not take the money, Bates had never received nor asked it from Robarts, till three days before his examination; and then only, as he said *, because his getting it was making a noise. But, in his anxiety to keep this circumstance out of view, on account of the obvious improbability of his letting so great a sum as 5000 guineas, if they had been his own, lie more than a year and a half in the hands of any servant whatever, and still more in the hands of the servant of another; he contradicted himself, and thereby hurt that patron whom he wished to serve, like most of those who think that they can preserve private, after losing the sense of public virtue: For, on his first examination, with an ambiguity intended to mislead, he gave an undeterminate period to the time when he had received the money from Robarts, in the following words †: "That Monsieur Robarts, after he had received the money, brought the same to him:" But when pressed, in a subsequent part of his examination, to fix the time when he got the money from Robarts, he said, "it was within a month last past." And, in the end, when still farther pres-

* Journals.

† The Journals shew, that the money was paid to Robarts in September or October 1693.

fed^d to explain what particular time he meant by the last of those expressions, he owned that he had got back the money only three days before his examination*. But, notwithstanding the presumption which might be drawn from those circumstances, there was still no direct evidence that the money had been applied to the Duke's use with his own privity. The evidence of the guilt or innocence of the Duke, came therefore to a short issue; for it lay with Robarts alone to say, whether he had paid the money to the Duke, or kept it for Bates; a cruel situation for a Lord President of the Council, and a Duke of England, to depend for his honour, fortune and person, on the evidence of a menial servant. On this view of the present and future state of the evidence, however, and without examining Robarts, the House instantly, and without a division, in one of those heats which make them often do wrong to get at right, voted to impeach the Duke of Leeds for high crimes and misdemeanors.

THE Duke was, in the middle of a speech on the business in general, in the House of Lords, when one of his friends, in a whisper informed him of the vote: He stopped, and hastened to the House of Commons, desiring to be heard: The doors were instantly thrown open, and he was admitted; a chair was ordered to be set for him within the bar, in which he sat covered for a few minutes, and then rose to make his defence, which, in the confusion and anxiety of his spirits, whether they arose from the consciousness of innocence or of guilt, was not equal to the lustre of his former abilities; and he displeased the pride of his audience, by an arrogant expression on which he laid arrogant emphases, "that if it had not been for *him*, *they* had not *then* been sitting *there*." The House persisted in their resolution to impeach. But the flight of Robarts immediately after from the Duke's house to the continent, blasted all hopes of bringing direct and legal evidence home to the Duke. The Duke then pressed for his trial on the impeachment, complaining that the rights of all others were injured in his person; for that no man was safe, if an imputation could be fixed upon his character, by hanging an impeachment without decision over it, at a time when the state of the evidence showed obviously, that it was impossible for his enemies to prove guilt upon him, and equally impossible for him to disprove their charges, however innocent he might be. But the Commons shewing no intention to proceed with

* Journal, 16th April 1695, evidence of Bates.

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an impeachment which promised no success, the King interrupted the matter by a prorogation of Parliament on the 3d day of May.

THE fate of the Duke of Leeds, is one of many instances in the history of English jurisprudence, in which, from the nature of free and public trials in England, the laws of justice are maintained in favour of accused parties, when yet they are left exposed to that suspicion, which is the most grievous of all punishments, because it never ceases.

BUT one circumstance in the prosecution gave pleasure to the King, because it vindicated both himself and his favour for foreigners. Mr Tyson, the deputy-governor of the India Company, swore*, that having authority to offer 50,000 to the King through the hands of Lord Portland, Lord Portland refused to interpose, saying, "The King would not meddle in the matter." And being asked if he had offered money to Lord Portland, he answered in these words: "No. If I had, I must never have seen his face again." The public, which is always fair to fair characters in England, remarked the contrast between the indelicacy of the English, and the correct honour of the Dutch Minister, which even Tyson, who had made attempts without fear, and with success, on the virtue of so many others, had not dared to approach.

THE treachery of an Asiatic court was never exceeded by that which prevailed in England at this time; while Tyson was attempting to bribe King William, he was, in order to dethrone him, negotiating a loan in the city for King James †.

Death of the
Queen.

DURING this enquiry, the Queen died. Sunderland, who was continually betraying, and continually serving King William, persuaded the Princess Anne to write a letter of condolence to the King, and to pay him a visit, which was received with great marks of attention on the King's part, who, well knowing the way to one part of a female heart, made the Princess a present of her sister's jewels, and of the Palace at St James's. On these advances, an appearance of reconciliation in the royal family was founded, which had almost all the good effects of a real one, because it obliged inferior figures to suspend their passions by the example of their superiors.

* Journals, April 27. Tyson's evidence. † M'Pherson's State Papers, vol. I. p. 499. & 500.

B O O K IV.

Siege of Namur. — Operations at Sea and in the West Indies. — New Parliament, and its Character. — Laws of Treason amended. — Silver Coin and Public Credit amended. — Note, The Principles of that Amendment applied to the Debts which the Americans at present owe to Britain. — Mr Duncombe and others called to account for Revenue Frauds. — Intrigues with France, and the late King. — Intended Invasion from France. — Intended Assassination of the King. — General Association and Loyalty. — Use which the King makes of it.

A. D. 1695. and 1696.

THE history of war is often no more than the history of Generals, because on their abilities, next to discipline and the nature of arms, the fate of war chiefly depends. The battle of Landen was the last which Mareschal Luxemburgh fought, and with his life the successes of Louis XIV. terminated in Flanders. King William, after several feints and divisions of his army, in order to conceal the object at which he pointed, every one of which Mareschal Luxemburgh would have taken advantage of, but which Mareschal Villeroy his successor did not, because he did not see the advantage that they gave, made his different bodies of troops meet at last at one common centre at Namur. He concealed his intention so well, that he did not even communicate it to the Elector of Bavaria, till he gave him the command of the siege, and had posted himself to cover it with a great army in strong ground, and with perfect security for his convoys. The garrison consisted of 12,000 men; and Mareschal Boufflers, by a hasty movement, threw himself with seven regiments of dragoons into the place before the siege began. Coehorn assisted to attack defences which himself had constructed, and

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Vauban had improved. The siege of the town and castle lasted near two months, and both of them were taken by a courage almost approaching to frenzy of the troops, who, being sent to assaults in bodies which the King composed on purpose of different nations, vied with each other, when the rest of the army were beholding their actions, each man to shew his own, and each body to shew its country's courage, but with vast loss of men on both sides; for the French had near 10,000 killed or wounded, and the besiegers more, as always happens in sieges of assault.

IN the mean time, the French had got possession of Dixmuyde and Deynse, which were weakly defended, in which they took 6000 prisoners, but refused to exchange them, though there was a regular cartel. On this account, while the French garrison was marching through the breach with all the honours of war, Boufflers, after passing it, was arrested by orders of the King, till the 6000 prisoners should be restored. The affront was softened by the manner of it; for Boufflers having complained, that with the same justice the whole garrison might be arrested, Dykvelt answered, that they certainly might; but the King thought that the person of Mareschal Boufflers was more than equivalent to the whole. The French King, touched with the politeness of the reproof, though he had not been so with the breach of faith which gave occasion for it, immediately ordered the garrisons of the two towns to be delivered up. The rest of the campaign was spent in inaction, because the French lay on the defensive, and the allied army was weakened by its sufferings in the siege.

THE actions of the campaign were of no general consequence on the Rhine, in Spain, or in Piedmont; but the French lost Casal in Italy, if that can be called a loss, when the town taken was given up by its conquerors to its own Sovereign the Duke of Mantua, and was dismantled so as to be of no benefit to the enemies of France.

Operations
at sea.

THE English and Dutch fleets still kept the French fleet under Tourville locked up in Toulon, where it continued till the summer of the next year, when it stole home to Brest. In the mean time, no French

fleet was seen in the Mediterranean, or the Ocean, or the Channel. The English privateers and letters of marque were exceedingly successful against the French trade: But the French privateers repaid the injury; for they took many West India ships, and five East India ships, valued at a million Sterling.

IN the West Indies, the English and Spaniards in conjunction, under Captain Wilmot, with five ships of war, and Colonel Lellingstone, with 1200 troops, made an attempt upon St Domingo. At their approach, the Governor of Cape Francois blew up the fort and retired. The Governor of Port a Paix stood a siege of a few days, and then deserted the fort. The English and Spaniards, after over-running part of the island, quitted it in a fortnight: And the ease with which these successes were procured, only gave the nation reason to complain that they were not oftener attempted, and that better use was not made of them. The same three causes which had disappointed the descent upon Martinico, by Sir Francis Wheeler, proved fatal to that on St Domingo, and will disappoint others, until soldiers shall learn that it is no affront to them to apply the rules of common sense to projects of war.

THESE events were variously spoke of in England; for while some triumphed over the disgraces of the fleets of France, and extolled the secrecy with which the King had planned the enterprize upon Namur even from his own friends; his stratagems to distract the attention of his enemies from his real object; the prudent post he had taken for his army; the foresight and presence of mind with which he had secured his convoys; his perseverance in the siege; his good sense in calling forth unusual exertions of valour from the emulation and vanity of nations; the strength of the place by art and by nature; the number of the garrison; a Mareschal of France taken in a town commanded by him, which was a circumstance without example in former times; the spirit with which the King had asserted the *jus gentium* of Europe, in behalf of prisoners of war, together with the politeness with which that spirit had been conducted; others observed that he had never gained one battle on the Continent; that the almost only town taken by him was covered with the blood of his people; that the success of a seven years campaign was limited to his regaining a single place, which his enemies

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had taken from him two years before, in his fight, and when he commanded 80,000 men to prevent them; and that his fleet parading up and down the Mediterranean, exposed to storms and waste, while the navy of France lay safe from both at Toulon, and the trade of both nations was mutually and equally destroyed by privateers, was a mere struggle between the two, which of them could hold longest out, in bearing an expence that was useless to both. On this last subject, a saying of Louis XIV. was repeated, who, when reminded of the expence of the war, answered, "*Eh bien le dernier guinée l'emportera.*" "Well, the last guinea will won the day." Words which struck the people of England the more, because it shewed them, that their want of success, or their success, were equally to be attended with the consumption of their wealth.

Character of
new parlia-
ment.

BUT as Princes hear more of the good than of the evil that is spoken of them, the King took advantage of the turn which the war had taken, to call a new Parliament, hoping that in the good humour which he was told that turn had created, the nation would send members who were agreeable to him; and to promote this view, he made a tour during the elections through a great part of his kingdom. But the people, deeply affected with the dangers which they ran amid contending Princes, with the real distresses of the nation in many respects, and above all, by the late inquiries into corruptions, returned members, not so much from regard to the party they belonged to, as from the confidence which their fellow-citizens placed in their integrity: And the members themselves, conscious of this, came to Parliament with minds prepared to be loyal to their deliverer on the one hand, but to be jealous, and sometimes too jealous of even the most distant interests of their country on the other. The transactions of this Parliament, from first to last, mark this mixture of character in its members.

Treason-
laws amend-
ed.

THE first step which the new House of Commons took, and even on the first day of the session, was to amend the laws relating to trials for high treason, by bringing mercy and justice into them; remembering that their fathers and themselves had resisted, and foreseeing, in the unsettled state of the government of England, that their sons might be

obliged to resist too. Among other articles introduced by the bill, in favour of the prisoner, he was to be allowed the aid of counsel. Lord Shaftsbury, the first person who, since the days of Plato and Cicero, combined in his writings philosophy and eloquence, had prepared a speech in favour of the article. But, struck with the sight and attention of his audience, he lost his memory and usual powers of his mind, hesitated, and stopped in the middle of his speech; when, by a happiness of genius which always accompanies the tender heart, a start of nature burst from his confusion, more powerful than all the figures of art. "If I," said he, "who only rise to give an opinion in a matter in which I have no interest, and can be under no fear, am so abashed with the appearance of this public audience, as not to be able to say what I came prepared to say; what must be the condition of that person in defending himself without the aid of counsel, who is a prisoner, suspected, under accusation of the highest crime that the law knows, unprepared against arguments and evidence which may be brought against him, and struggling for his life, fortune, and fame?"

THE new parliament then congratulated the King on the success of his arms, and resolved to support him effectually in the prosecution of the war; and the Commons voted supplies for 87,000 troops, exclusive of officers.

THE Houses next proceeded to remedy the disorders of the silver coin, which was so much impaired as to be fallen about a third in its value; for the guinea passed for thirty shillings; by which payments were made so uncertain, that no man knew the real amount of what he got. The consequence was, that other countries threw their gold into England, and purchased goods with English silver at two thirds of their value; the exchange of all nations was against England; the troops and seamen were ready to mutiny, because paid in nominal not in true value; and a general bankruptcy, both private and public, must have ensued. But, though all saw the disease, many long opposed the attempting a remedy; some actuated by their fears to tamper with the coin in time of war and low credit, and others because instructed by the late King to thwart and perplex whatever could be bene-

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on silver
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ficial to the new government*. In the mean time, numberless speculations, as happens on such occasions, were presented to Mr Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer; but most of which, like other projects by political flatterers, were calculated to give advantage to government at the expence of the subjects; for some proposed to lessen the weight of the coin, others to mix it with alloy, others to increase its current value, and some to substitute paper in payments, without providing a security for it. But Mr Montague called to his aid Sir Isaac Newton from his mathematical, and Mr Locke from his metaphysical studies, knowing, by his own experience, the ease with which men possessed of talents and knowledge can transfer them from one object to another. And these three persons remedied an evil deemed to be above remedy, by applying the principles of common sense and common honesty to it; for they prevailed with parliament to call in all the old coin at its intrinsic value, to issue new coin at the ancient standard and value, and to pay the difference between the old and the new, which amounted to about L. 2,400,000, by a tax on houses and window lights, by which the loss of all was contrived to fall equally upon all; and people grudged not to pay a few shillings once in the year, in return every day of the year for security in their payments. In one thing only Mr Montague's plan proved unfortunate in the execution: For, instead of allowing the old money to be taken in payments according to its weight, and consequently letting it find its own way to the mint, as was done upon a more recent occasion some years ago by Lord North, the currency of it in payments was stopped by law, in order to force it more speedily into the mint; and the consequence of this was, to put at first an immediate stop to a great part of the traffic of the nation, which could not go on without payments in money of some kind or other. In order in some degree to remove this temporary evil, mints were erected in different parts of the kingdom, from whence the new money issued; and then the old money was sent readily to them. But it was much better remedied by the general public spirit, and the good faith of individuals, which supplied the want of species; for the soldiers and seamen submitted to lie out of their pay, and the rest of the nation out of their payments for two months, without murmuring†.

* M^rPherson's State Papers, Vol. i. page 454.

† Cuningham, Vol. i. p. 156. and King's Speech 20th October 1696.

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Operations
on public
credit.

PARLIAMENT, instructed by the lights of Mr Montague, afterwards proceeded to keep up public credit, which was so low, that the Exchequer tallies sold from twenty to thirty *per cent.* discount, according as their terms of payment were more or less remote, and Bank Notes at twenty *per cent.* discount; and above five millions of arrears to the soldiers, seamen, transport, and other services, some of which were as old as the Irish war, could not be said to bear any price at all, because the value of them depended on the fears and suspicions of the stability of public credit, and the distresses of their possessors for money. There were two general causes of this failure in credit. The first was, that the taxes provided for the payment of those to whom money was due, had proved deficient in producing the sums expected from them, and many of them were near expiring. The other was the scarcity of coin; for not more than eight millions were coined in England between the Revolution and the peace of Ryswic; and that sum even contained the recoinage of the old silver coin. But it was impossible that so small a sum could be the fit instrument for conducting the private traffic, and for paying the public taxes of a nation, which, on the faith of the latter alone, was expending every year above five millions on the public service. And the Exchequer tallies and Bank Notes, which alone could be used as subsidiary instruments of payment, were not current in credit, because uncertain in their price.

IN order to remove the first evil, to wit the deficiency of the taxes, Mr Montague prevailed with parliament to prolong the old taxes, and impose new ones, of such a magnitude as to satisfy the minds of those who were already public creditors, or whom he meant to make such by borrowing money from them for the public use, that they were sufficient to pay the interests which should become due, and part of the principal besides, annually. These taxes thrown into a body, were called the General Fund. This provision being made, he raised the price of the old tallies, by taking them in payment of the sums which their proprietors lent to government to pay off the public debts, and which consequently gave those proprietors a new security, to wit the

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security of the new taxes. And he raised the value of the Bank Notes, by prolonging the term of the beneficial charter of the Bank, by allowing the proprietors to increase their capital, and by taking a part of their Notes in payment of a new great loan, which they had agreed to advance to government; the consequence of which was, that a large share of the Notes of the Bank being thus absorbed or annihilated, the price of those which remained in the market rose in their value.

IN order to supply the want of coin, which was the second general cause of the failure of public credit, Mr Montague prevailed with Parliament to give a power to the Treasury to issue Exchequer bills, some of which were so low as for five or ten pounds, to the amount of L. 2,700,000, on the security of the general fund.

By those operations, he added eleven millions of paper money to the coin of the nation, to facilitate payments both by private persons and by the public. Thus, the State supported the Bank, the Bank supported the State; and the Exchequer, which used to be the gulf in which the money of the nation was sunk, proved the source from whence it flowed. This plan, so seemingly intricate, yet so simple in its principles, was, by those who envied the superior views of its author, called a *happy temerity*. The intended satire was a real compliment.

FROM * the establishment of this general fund, and the credit which these Exchequer bills met with, men came to see, though for some

* THE Americans owe at present four millions Sterling of debts to British subjects. Various plans have been proposed to effectuate payment. They all fail in this respect, that they suggest no provision for putting the Americans in a capacity to pay. The chief use of history is to show men what they are to follow, and what to avoid, by the experience of their ancestors; and therefore I submit the following plan, founded on Mr Montague's principles, to the consideration of both countries.

AMERICA is now in a similar situation with that of England during the first years of King William's reign, in four respects. 1st, She owes an external debt of four millions to British subjects: In the same way, England owed five millions to her soldiers and seamen, who were mostly abroad. 2d, She owes an internal public debt;

years but faintly, that the public credit of England might be carried to any height, proportioned to the extent of the taxes offered to obtain it, and to the honour with which they were applied. This, therefore, is the proper æra of public credit in England—An event which has been imputed to the policy of King William, in order to attach the public creditors, by their own interest, to the cause of the Revolution; but which in reality arose from his necessities, and was the natural effect of

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natural

debt contracted during the war: England owed a similar debt; but with this difference, that the American debt is small in comparison of what the English debt was.—*3dly*, America requires annual supplies of taxes, to carry on her government: England required them also; but with this difference, that the supplies required by America at present to carry on her government, are a trifle,—whereas the demands of England were great, because there was a great war to maintain.—*Lastly*, America has little coin: England at that time had not much; and yet had vast demands upon her for it, to carry on her commerce, to pay the interest of her debts, to maintain an expensive civil government, above 40,000 seamen, and above 80,000 troops, and to subsidize Foreign Princes.

The supposed dishonesty of Americans to their British creditors, or rather perhaps their real inability to do what they wish to do, arises from their want of coin, or of a substitute for coin: For, to expect them to pay a great external and internal debt, and carry on their government, without coin, or a substitute for coin, that is, to pay without any instrument of payment, is one vision; and to expect America, with her poverty, to pay the principal sum of her external and internal debt, when England, France, and Holland, with all their wealth, cannot, is another vision.

But if the American States (with or without the intervention of British Commissioners to attend to the interests of British creditors in the liquidation of their debts) will apply Mr Montague's principles and practice to the present condition of their country, they will find the remedy for the evil even in the evil itself, for the benefit of the British creditors; and they will find a certain good to spring out of that remedy, for the benefit of America herself.

Let the American States, in the *first* place, provide a fund of taxes sufficient to pay more than the interest of their internal and external debts, and sufficient also to pay either the sum annually required to carry on their government, or the interest of a sum borrowed for carrying it on, if they have not taxes sufficient to raise an annual supply for that purpose; but which borrowing will not be necessary except for a few years at the beginning, till public credit shall be established; because, after that period, it will be the fault of America herself, if she does not pay off debts, instead of increasing them.

The

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natural causes ; but an event by far the most important in the history of England, for two reasons. The first is, that by the creation of a vast number of new offices necessary for collecting the new taxes, at the disposal of the Crown, it has thrown a weight into the royal scale, which the House of Tudor, even in the plenitude of their power, never possessed: And the second is, that by the facility with which the Public borrows, it has ever since been the cause of all the great exhibitions of England on the theatre of the world ; and for the same reason, it will, if abused, insure the downfall of that power, as surely as a private person spending annually more than his income, will in the end become a bankrupt.

THE

The States should, in the *second* place, convert the above debts (whether internal, or external, or new borrowings to carry on for a few years their government) into public transferable securities, and make provision for the exact application of those taxes to the payment of the interest of the debts, in the same way that Mr Montague did.

Lastly, In order to give currency to these transferable securities, (or, to give them a more simple name, to this paper money), it should be received in payment of taxes to the State, and of borrowings by the State, in the same way as was provided by Mr Montague.

Objection. It may be objected, that it is unjust to make the *American Public* pay the debts of *American private persons* ; that the American Public will be a loser by the bargain, and therefore will never agree to it.

Answer. Public Bodies, like private persons, submit to hardships when they are to reap benefit from them. The States will agree, if a way can be fallen upon to make the Public a gainer in the end, and to save it from loss in the mean time.

Now, the way to compass the first of these ends, is, *1st*, for the American States, in return for the transferable securities which they give for the payment of the interests of the debts of the British creditors, to be put in the place of those creditors, so as to enable the States to recover the debts in America ; and, *2^{dly}*, that these debts, as fast as recovered, shall be converted into a fund, to make a solid bottom for a Bank of circulation like that of England, to be the property of the American Public ; and which Bank will gradually extend itself for the accommodation of public and private credit as they shall extend themselves, because the debts recovered will be gradually falling into it.

With regard to ways of saving the Public of America from loss, or at least from any considerable loss, there are many. Some of the debts could be called in instantly. Securities for the payment of the interest annually, and of the principal by instalments, might

THE remedies applied by Mr Montague to the distresses of his country, were however abused. In order to hasten the payment of taxes, and to encourage the currency of exchequer bills, it had been provided, that from the date of their being paid upon taxes into the Exchequer, they should be entitled to seven and a half *per cent.* of interest. Mr Duncombe, and Mr Knight receiver-general of the excise, both Mem-

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Mr Duncombe and others called to account for Revenue Funds.

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bers

might be taken on the real estates of others, or upon the personal estates of them and their friends, when they had no real estates. To ease the debtors, and yet to give benefit to the Public, payment of many of the debts might be taken in the produce of the country, for example in the tobaccos of Chesapeck Bay, and the rice of the Carolinas; and these sold to Foreign Nations, with the stamp of the Public upon them, to vouch the goodness of their quality, would acquire an additional value. In order to obtain the ends of easing the debtor, and of getting benefit for the State still farther, that produce might be exported, upon a *premium* by the State, to respectable bodies of merchants in Britain, to be received for behoof of the British proprietors in the American funds. This last is not difficult to be executed: All the tobaccos received in France and Spain are consigned to a few hands; and the diamonds of the Brazilles go to one House in Lisbon. But above all, England might give advantages to American trade without hurting her own, to make up the public loss, and to reward the public honour of America. These are arrangements which could be contrived in half-a-day, by one who has shown that he can conduct the lightning of the skies, and who, by contriving these arrangements, would crown the good he has done to his own, and make up for the mischief he has done to this country. Such mutual concessions would tend to reconcile the humours of men to each other, whose interests, in spite of those humours, must long be the same.

THE advantages which would redound to America from adopting such views, are the following:

1st, HER empire of dominion, and her empire of commerce, (for they must be blind indeed who do not see how immense this last empire must be if honour be made its basis), will start from the noblest of all goals, the goal of public honour, and of national fidelity of character;—circumstances which support the public credit of England, and the private credit of the Spanish Nation, more than any other. At present, the ships of all countries stand aloof from the coasts of America; but they would then press forward to reach them. He must be a bad merchant indeed, who does not see that a little character is worth a little money.

2^{dly},

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bers of the House, and others like them officers of the revenue, put false indorsements on many of the bills before they had been circulated at all; by which Duncombe acquired a fortune of four hundred thousand pounds. It was proved, that he had owned the truth of the complaint. They were both expelled the House, and a Bill passed the Commons to fine Mr Duncombe half his estate; but it was rejected in the House of Lords, by the casting vote of the Duke of Leeds, who was Chairman of the Committee. For the honour of the House of Lords, this is the only instance in English history, in which the distribution of private money was suspected to have had influence with a number of the Peers.

Intrigues with
France and
the late King.

BUT amidst the attention of Parliament to these internal objects, the minds of people in London were surpris'd almost in an instant, with the double alarm of an intended invasion from France, and of an assassination of their Sovereign. In the end of the year 1693, the adherents of

zdy, America would be supplied with an immediate substitute for her want of coin, just as England was by Mr Montague's scheme; and this relief, by the vigour which it always gives to industry and trade, would supply America with coin, just as coin was drawn into England by Mr Montague's scheme. No Bank can stand without an equivalent security within itself, for the Notes which it issues. The debts recovered and sent to the Bank, would form that security; and then the Bank, either established at one station, or, which would be much better, divided into three or four branches, placed at different great stations of America for the sake of the greater convenience to business, would give new wings to the circulation of private credit; and also to public credit, for, supported by the State, the Bank would for its own interest support the State. The consequence of the firm establishment of private and public credit obtained by those operations, would be, and at no very distant period, that Foreign Nations would throw their money into the public funds of America, with as little fear as they do into those of their own country: And the consequence of that confidence again would be, that British merchants possessed of property in the public funds of America, would make payments often in that property, and trade often upon it; and America would remit her payments almost always in her own produce, and carry on her trade, and take her station high in the rank of Nations, either for defence or for offence, on the money of other countries.

of the late King in England, had pressed the French King, in a tone of impatience which almost bordered upon indecency, for an invasion of England *. The reasons on which they founded the probable success of it, were, ' That the English fleet was to fail in the Spring, to convoy the merchant-men through the Straits : that the troops would be sent in the Spring to the King in Flanders, by which there would not be above four thousand left to defend England : that the fodder in the country could not then be consumed : that the annual supplies voted by Parliament, could not by that time be brought into the Treasury : that the approaching invasions with which William had threatened France in a late speech to Parliament, would make it natural for the French to send troops to the sea coasts, without any suspicion of their being intended for any other purpose than to oppose them ; and that the Nation was full of discontents, occasioned by the mismanagements of the fleet and of Ireland and Scotland, the sufferings of trade, and a war without glory.' They asked at first thirty thousand men, but afterwards came down to twenty, and in the end to twelve thousand ; and in order to remove the difficulty of transporting horses, they engaged to have them ready in England, because that country was full of horses proper either for draught or for war ; and in war, from the weight of some, and the spirit of others, proper either for the charge or the skirmish. The chief persons who used these solicitations, were the Queen's uncle Lord Clarendon, the Lords Litchfield, Lindsay Lord Chamberlain, Yarmouth, Montgomery son to the Marquis of Pouis, Aylesbury, Poulet, Sunderland, Arran son to the Duke of Hamilton, Breadalbane, and Forbes ; Sir William Perkins, a citizen of great wealth ; Sir John Friend, a Gentleman of estate, one of the six clerks in Chancery, and who had made himself remarkable by his violence on the Tory side during the Parliaments of Charles the Second ; Major General Sir John Fenwick ; Sir Andrew Forrester ; Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe ; Mr Penn the famous quaker, who used the best argument to persuade Louis to an invasion, for he said that one army in England, would have more effect to break the league against France, than three any where else ; Mr Stroud of Sommer-

shire ;

* M^cPherson's State Papers, anno 1693 and 1694.

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shire; Colonel Selwyn; Sir John Knight; the Colonels Roe and Parker; Lieutenant Colonel Grenville son to the Earl of Bath; and Fergusson the Scotch Clergyman, who had made himself so remarkable by the part he had acted in the Ryehouse plot, and who now enjoyed a place under King William, but not suited, as he thought, to his services and dangers. All these men engaged to raise insurrections in different parts of the kingdom; and Sir William Perkins answered for the two Regiments of City Militia who guarded the Tower, and Sir John Friend* for a Company of City Clergymen who were to dethrone a Protestant Prince. But the late King, in order to satisfy himself of the sentiments of persons more near to the Palace, sent over Capt. Lloyd of the Navy, Groom of his Bed-chamber, who had shown so much address in his negotiations with several of them before the battle of La Hogue. Lord Marlborough, with the experience of a foldier, said to Lloyd, ‘ That the invasion ought to be made with twenty-five thousand troops and seven thousand spare arms, and that the time of making the attempt was indifferent provided it was accompanied with that force.’ Lord Godolphin, with the intelligence of a man of business, advised ‘ the invasion to be put off till the Autumn, because a sufficiency of French transports could be more easily collected in the course of the Summer; and in the mean time the intended attack upon Brest, of which he had given information to King James, would make it necessary for the French to have a great number of forces at that place, which they might afterwards carry where they pleased; the great ships of the English fleet would in Autumn be laid up in harbour for the Winter season, and their seamen dispersed, and their small ships gone to take care of their convoys of merchantmen.’ Admiral Ruffel, who commanded the fleet, used the following expressions, which I transcribe literally from Lloyd’s report of his negotiations to King James: ‘ That, by God! he would undertake the business, and would communicate to Lord Marlborough from time to time the progress that he made.’ When urged by Lloyd either to join the French fleet, or to let it pass, he, with the disdain of an Officer and of an Englishman,

* Sir John Friend’s Trial.

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man, refused to do either, and swearing according to the manner of his sea companions, added, ' That he would do the business, but do it himself alone.' And when pressed to explain what he would do, he preserved the obstinate silence of a man habituated to the possession of despotic power on his own element; only repeating, ' That he would undertake the business, and that Lord Shrewsbury and Lord Marlborough should be judges of his actions.' But Lloyd received most encouragement from a circumstance of which the old Countess of Shrewsbury (whose son he could not see without equal danger to both in the conspicuous situation of Secretary of State, in which Lord Shrewsbury then stood) informed him, that William was to go to Holland early in the Spring, and to leave the government in the hands of his Consort, who would implicitly follow the advices of the Lords Caermarthen and Shrewsbury, that is to say, of the two best friends whom the late King had in England. It is not singular that Lloyd did not at this time see or hear of Lord Sunderland; because the late King concealed from almost all, his secret correspondence with Sunderland, which was conducted solely through Lord Arran his son-in-law, being ashamed to let others know that he had any connexion with a man who had deceived and betrayed him. Sunderland at this time possessed much of the confidence of King William, because he had reconciled the Whigs to him, and him to the Whigs; so that he stood in the most singular of all situations, employed and trusted by two rival Princes, both of whom were ashamed to avow their connexions with him.

OTHER circumstances, not singular indeed, but curious in the intrigues of that period, appear in the papers of King James in the Scotch College at Paris; for, while both Whigs and Tories were soliciting Louis to an invasion of England, the Tories were warning James to put no confidence in the Whigs, and the Whigs warning him to put as little in the Tories. Lord Marlborough endeavoured to instil into the mind of James, suspicions of Admiral Ruffel, in order to shew the sincerity of his own attachment. The Court of St Germain's was divided into two parties, called compounders and non-compounders, headed

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headed by two Scotchmen, Lord Middleton and Lord Melfort, one of whom maintained that King James should make concessions to the liberties of his people in order to be restored, the other that he should not. And on these principles the two parties disputed, hated and suspected each other, as heartily as if they had been in possession of all the great offices at Whitehall. Men in England too, asked and intrigued at St Germain's, for the future disposal of places and honours in England*, as if the power of conferring them had been already in him to whom the applications were made.

Intended In-
vasion from
France,

To all solicitations, however, for an invasion, the French Court, which, in the Winter of the year 1693, was endeavouring to bring about a peace with England, and considered the interests of King James only as they could be made subservient to those of France, lent a deaf ear, one Minister shifting the business upon another†, under pretence that it was not in his department; and all of them making the excuses which French Ministers have always had at hand, to the Steuart Family, when they were resolved not to do what was asked of them,—of want of money, difficulty of transporting troops from France, and of finding a place of security in England for the ships which conveyed them, and the general danger of the attempt.—But now, in the Winter of the year 1695, when the prospects of peace were all over, all these excuses flew off; and Louis, pretending that the occasion was more favourable on account of the death of William's Consort than it had been two years before, offered to land James in his own kingdom with a great French force, though the Treasury of France had not been made fuller by two years of war, nor the difficulties and dangers of the attempt diminished; and there were then 14,000 troops in England‡, instead of the 4000 which had been there in the year 1693; the coin was in a train of being repaired; the mismanagements of the fleet and of Ireland, and the losses of trade, almost forgot; the command of the three Seas recovered; the face of the war at land changed; and a steady Parliament had succeeded to one whose movements were uncertain.

JAMES,

* Commons Journals, page 179. † M'Pherson's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 495.

‡ M'Pherson's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 252. and 520.

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JAMES, upon this offer, sent his emissaries to rouse his friends in England, who engaged to raise insurrections in many places, and the Duke of Berwick was sent over to command them. As the French were in use to send every winter a fleet of victuallers and store-ships to the sea-coast of Flanders, for the use of the armies during the ensuing campaign there, above 300 transports were assembled under that pretence, at Dunkirk and Calais, without suspicion; above 20,000 troops were suddenly brought to the same places, from the surrounding garrisons, by Marechal Boufflers. The Dutch, frightened by a bustle on the sea-coasts so near them*, imagined there was a design against Zealand, and made preparations against it: But no body suspected that England was the object. The late King arrived at Calais on the 17th of February old style; but it was not heard of in England till the 2d of March, and then only from Paris†.

BUT while these great preparations were making against England on the Continent, a more important blow was aiming against her at home. Sir George Barclay, formerly a Scots Officer, and now Lieut.-Colonel to the late King's Regiment of Horse Guards‡, aged above 60 years, a man equally intriguing, daring, and cautious, had, for some years, in conjunction with one Capt. Williamson, been employed by James|| in negotiations with his adherents in England. Either driven by the fury of his own spirit, or tired with the prospect of doing nothing remarkable during the remaining years of his life, or suspicious of the political courage of the English, which his countrymen were in that age too apt to despise, because themselves, without employment at home, were accustomed to shed their blood in every service in Europe, he formed the project of assassinating the King. As it is the mark of all bad men to be cunning, and of cunning men to take a round-about way instead of the straight road to their object, and to make their advances to it step by step, he got Williamson, not in his own name, but in that of another, to bring under the eye of King James, the idea not of assassinating his rival, but of seizing his person; for Williamson's report of his own ne-

and Affas-
sination of
the King,

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gociations.

* M'Pherson's State Papers, vol. I. p. 255. † Gazette, 2d March 1695-6.

‡ Gazette, 2d April 1696.

|| M'Pherson's State Papers, vol. I. p. 463.

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gociations in England to King James, contains these words*: ‘ Sir John Friend hopes also, by a stratagem, to seize the Prince and Princess of Orange, and to bring them to your Majesty.’ Offers were afterwards made by different persons to the Court of St Germainst†, to assassinate William; but received with detestation by James, whose religious turn of mind, and whose honour, restrained him from such crimes. But these refusals were probably imputed by Barclay to hypocrisy and affectation, and therefore he took his own way. He proposed the matter to some Officers, covering it at first under the name of a military enterprise to seize the person of an enemy in time of war, and from thence afterwards inferring the necessity and right of killing him if he resisted. When he had got his friends to adopt this reasoning, he then openly proposed a direct assassination, as a shorter way, and safer for themselves: But even then he proposed it should be done by what he sometimes called an *ambuscade*; and at other times, an *attack* on the Guards while they were *escorting* their *General* from *place* to *place*. In order to hide the sight of remorse from their own minds, or perhaps deceived by false ideas of honour, the Officers objected, that as they were military men, they must have a military commission to perform a military service. Barclay knowing well that he could not get the commission which they wished for, obtained a common general one from James, to levy war in England against the Prince of Orange and his adherents, under the pretence that without commissions it would be found difficult to levy men for his service. The Officers were about ten in number, the highest of whom in rank was Lieutenant Colonel Lowick; but the most remarkable was Captain Charnock, formerly Fellow of Magdalene College, who had been one of the instruments to serve King James in invading the rights of that College, and who now shewed that the distance is small between a dependent, a criminal, and a cowardly spirit. To these a few others who were not Officers, joined themselves by means of Barclay. The plan concerted was to keep a party of forty men in waiting, in inns and other places in Brentford and Turnham-green, and to attack the King in the middle of his Guards, in the lane between those two villages, in his way from the country, from whence he returned every Saturday to attend divine worship the next day in London.

THE

* M^cPherson’s State Papers, vol. I. p. 467.† M^cPherson’s State Papers.

THE time fixed for the attack was the 15th of February; but the day before, two of the Officers, separately, and unknown to each other, Capt. Fisher, and Capt. Pendergrafs who was a man of Family in Ireland, gave information to Lord Portland of the King's danger. Fisher said, his only reason was, that his mind was unhappy with the dishonour of the action; but refused to name his accomplices, and then fled from the sight of man, and was never heard of more. Pendergrafs also refused to accuse others. The King, who was void of suspicion, because he was brave, gave little attention to the discovery, and put off his ordinary journey to the country for a week, merely in compliment to the friendly anxiety of Lord Portland. But a third informer presenting himself some days after, who could give only a few indistinct circumstances, the King sent for Pendergrafs, flattered him on his birth and character of a Gentleman, and added with simplicity, That 'the life which he had saved could not be preserved, unless the persons were known who had combined to take it away.' Pendergrafs then gave a list of his associates, and was ordered to find out their places of abode. In the mean time, the King a second time put off his journey to the country, which had been fixed for the 22d of the month. The wary Barclay, who had imputed the first delay to chance, saw design in the second, and absconded: the rest were seized that evening in their beds.

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discovered.

As the most daring in wickedness are commonly the most cowardly upon the detection of it, Capt. Porter, who had solicited to be allowed to strike the first blow at the King, now solicited to turn evidence; and Charnock, who had gone much between France and England in negotiations with the Court of St Germain, sent a message to the King, that he would disclose the names of all those who had employed him in England*, if his punishment was changed from death into perpetual imprisonment; a commutation which any other person who had attempted an assassination, and had betrayed the lives of his friends, would have accounted an aggravation of misery. The King generously answered, 'I wish not to know them.' When Sir William Perkins was questioned by the Marquis of Winchester at the head of a Committee of the House of Commons, after condemnation, but with the

Fate of Con-
spirators.

* Burnett.

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hopes of life, he acknowledged his accession to the assassination, and that he was ashamed of it; and added, that he had engaged a troop of horse for the insurrection: But when desired to name the persons who were to compose his troop, he answered, 'I will not redeem my own blood at the expence of theirs who were drawn in by me;' and therefore his fate was pitied by all, when* that of Sir John Friend, who maintained the same honour to his friends, was neglected, because he had not the talent of expressing it so well. All the prisoners, with their last breath, acquitted the late King of any knowledge of the intended assassination: And yet Burnett, a Protestant Bishop, has, in a history equally loose in its facts and in its stile, endeavoured to fix a crime on King James, which his more generous rival never imputed to him. Of ten who were taken, eight were executed, and two pardoned.

General
Association.

THE first knowledge of the intended invasion, came from the same persons who had given information of the assassination; but later, because the attention of all was at first ingrossed by the safety of the King. But he, who had delayed making enquiries when his own danger was alone concerned, went instantly, on Monday the 24th of February, to Parliament, when he heard of the Nation's danger, and, in a speech, gave an account of both the invasion and assassination. The suddenness with which the information came upon the Members of the Houses, the junction of the two objects which it contained, and the intimate connection which that junction shewed there was between the interests of the Nation and the safety of the King's person, added weight to the impression which his speech made. The House of Commons unanimously, and without rising from their seats, framed an association, to be signed by all their Members, in which they declared, 'That William was their rightful and lawful King; that they would defend him against the late King, and all his adherents; and in case he came to a violent death, that they would revenge it on his enemies.' The Peers, with some trifling alterations of expression, joined in the association.

As

* Commons Journals, 2d April 1696.

As the discovery, the King's visit to Parliament, and the association, passed all in the course of two days, the news of them came with as much surprise upon France, as they had done upon England. But there, every thing proved unfortunate for James, who was then waiting at Calais, impatient for intelligence from England, and throwing many a longing look to a country in which he expected so soon to reign. A tract of westerly winds had detained the English fleet at home which was intended for the Straits, by which the English were masters of the Channel; and their fleet was commanded by the same Ruffel who had defeated the French fleet in the same sea four years before, after he had given that promise to avoid it, which to Capt. Lloyd he had lately refused. A French fleet of transports had been shattered by a storm, in coming from Havre to Calais. The Duke of Berwick, shocked to find that he was amidst assassins instead of loyalists, and that his reputation might be involved in theirs, returned to France, and thereby disappointed insurrections in England. Lewis, whose only object was, as it has ever since been that of the French Court in their pretences to serve the Stuart Family, to create mischief in England, had declared, that he would send no troops to England until he saw insurrections there; and therefore he took advantage of this circumstance, to excuse himself from venturing his troops alone, and unsupported by those who he expected were to have paved the way for them. He therefore dispersed his armament; and James returned to St Germain's, to compose prayers which he every day repeated, in which he thanked God that he had lost his kingdom, because it had been the means of saving his soul.*

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Invasion
disappointed.

THE simplicity of William's character, who, loving real grandeur, despised on that account the shew of it, had given him a natural dislike to public addresses. Of this an instance was reported to have displayed itself on a public court day, when the Mayor of a borough presenting an address, which mixed compliments for the success of Namur with condolence for the death of the Queen, and introducing himself by saying that 'he came with joy in the one hand, and grief in the other,' the King interrupted him with these words: 'Pray put them both into
' one

Use made of
Association.

* M'Pherson's State Papers, vol. I.

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‘one hand, good Mr Mayor.’ From the same turn of mind, he had declined not only public addressees, but even private compliments from his friends, when he escaped the intended blow of Grandvill two years before. But now when he saw that he could turn manifestations of public zeal into an engine of State, and even rear upon them national acknowledgements, and declarations of that title to the Throne, which many, on account of the Queen’s death, were apt to call in question, he gave every encouragement to associations. Both Houses concurred in compelling their Members to sign the association, which acknowledged his title to the Throne. At the request of the House of Commons, it was lodged, with all other copies of it signed any-where else, in the Records of the Tower, as a monument of the loyalty and affection of the people of England. From Parliament, it ran through all the British dominions both at home and abroad. All persons in public situations in life, in Britain, were compelled by penalties to sign it; and private mingling itself with public passion, it was signed by an infinite number of individuals. So that an attempt to take from him his kingdom and life, seated him more firmly on the Throne than an hundred Acts of Parliament could have done.

BOOK V.

B O O K V.

*CAUSES of the Peace of Ryswic.—Peace of Ryswic.—
Provision for a Commercial Treaty.—Lord Portland's
Embassy to France.—King William's Offers to the Family
of the late King.*

Anno 1697.

WARS of great exertion carry along with them the causes of their own termination. These are, want of provisions, want of men, and want of money. When the youth of a country go to war, the fields remain uncultivated, and consequently yield little food; when every private family has lost a son or a brother, levies are no longer to be made without difficulty; and when the public treasures are given away to men who return nothing to the Public, and by the loss of their industry and labour take a great deal from it, the Treasury is exhausted. The truth of these observations is proved by the state of the belligerent powers of Europe in the year 1696.

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Causes of the
Peace of Ryf-
wic.

DURING some years previous to the peace of Ryswic, the price of corn in England was double, and in Scotland quadruple its ordinary rate; and in one of those years, it was believed that 80,000 people died of want in the last of these countries. The sufferings of France were far greater than those of England*: Nor could it be otherwise, because the laws of France not only gave no bounty on the exportation of corn, but did not permit it to be exported at all, nor at that time to be transported even from one province to another without duties. The consequence of

First Cause.

* Memoirs of Feuquiers, vol. I. book 7.

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of this was, that every province raised annually only as much corn as was thought sufficient for supplying itself; and when other provinces called for help, had none to send: and France could get no supplies from the Southern Nations, because she was at war with them. Whereas in England, the bounty given by law in the beginning of this King's reign, upon the exportation of corn when cheap, tempted the farmer to raise a greater quantity than he had formerly done, by insuring him of a market whether corn was cheap or dear; and England could get supplies from the Southern Nations, and even from her own American Settlements.

Second
Cause.

AGAIN, during the war, England paid upon an average yearly, of her own and foreign troops, about 80,000 landmen and 40,000 seamen, exclusive of the regiments maintained by Scotland and Ireland, which were near 20,000 more. Holland maintained at least an equal number with England, for she had considerably above 100,000 forces in her pay*; and Burchet, Secretary to the Admiralty of England, says, that the ships of the Dutch were in the proportion of five to eight of the English: The rest of the Alliance supplied above 200,000 forces†, besides the seamen of the Spanish fleet. On the other hand, France was superior in number of land-forces to her enemies every-where, and must have had an equal number of seamen with the Dutch and English joined together, because she had 80 ships of the line, according to the authority of Mr Burchet, and they had no more; and because the French fleet is always more fully manned than that of England or Holland. So that the whole men in arms must have been near a million. Sir John Pringle, in his accurate book on the Diseases of the Army, shews that the annual loss of men in the campaigns in which he was physician to the army, was one out of seventeen, besides those who died in battle, or of their wounds: But the proportion of natural deaths among the seamen, is far greater. Add to these, the numbers who died in battle, or of their wounds, by land and sea; and suppose them to have been 30,000 in a year taken collectively, in all the different theatres of the war,

* Commons Journals, 8th December 1693, and 26th November 1694. Tyndal, p. 259.

† Ditto Journals.

war, in Catalonia, Piedmont, and Italy; on the Moselle and the Rhine; in the Netherlands, Ireland, and Hungary; and in the Channel, the Ocean, and the Mediterranean; and on the coasts of the West Indies, America, and the East Indies: Then, on those calculations, the probable loss of men in the nine years of the war, could not be less than 800,000, besides a probably equal number of the aged, of women, and of children, who perished in silent misery at home, from want of care, and of their usual supplies of food.

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LASTLY*, the war cost England 60 millions Sterling; for so a protest in the House of Lords avers, which, among seventeen Peers, was signed by the Duke of Leeds, Lord Nottingham, and the Marquis of Normanby, who surely had good access to know the truth. The war could not cost less to Holland. And supposing all the other Allies taken together to have advanced only a sum equal to ~~that~~ those two Nations, the whole must have amounted to 240 millions. And France could not expend less; because although the cloathing and pay of her troops were cheaper than those of England or Holland, yet she had, as she always has, a much greater proportion of Officers and men on board her ships than England or Holland; but the expence of every seaman is equal to that of four landmen: And the expence of her land-forces was increased by the remoteness of the expeditions which they were obliged to make to arrive at their enemies. If to this waste of money be added, that the labour of a healthy man is worth ten pounds a-year upon an average of Nations; then the loss of the labour of near a million of soldiers and seamen annually, was, in nine years, ninety millions Sterling, besides the loss of the labour for life, of all those who died in the campaign, or in battle, or of their wounds: And therefore, the whole expence of the war, including the interest of money, which, in that age, was high even to the richest Nations, could not be under seven hundred millions, of which one-half fell to France. Third Cause.

BUT the want of money was most felt in England; because the Germans, the Duke of Savoy, and even the King of Spain, (whose
VOL. II. L treasures

* Journals House of Commons 26th March 1701, page 434.

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treasures were detained in the New World, by the danger of bringing them home during war), who had little money and no credit, went no further than to adapt their exertions to the usual extent of their finances; the French King could levy from his subjects, what he pleased, by his mere will; and the Dutch, who were accustomed to borrow on remote funds, got money with ease, and at a cheap rate. Whereas in England, the King could levy no money without the consent of his subjects, and the practice of borrowing on distant funds was till this reign unknown; the English having supported their ancient wars in France by the plunder of their enemies, and the ransom of prisoners; their civil wars, by plundering each other; Cromwell and Charles the Second their short wars, the one by excessive despotic temporary taxes, and the other by robbing the Exchequer, and getting pensions from France. But when King William came to maintain a war of long duration, with armies of such numbers of men; with arms, ammunition, and artillery of such an expence; with ships of such a size; forming magazines not by rapine, but by purchase, because the war was in a friend's country; and attacking and defending strong places* with such a waste of money, as were unknown in former times; it became impossible to do it with taxes raised within the year; and therefore the Public was obliged to mortgage the taxes, and to borrow money on the credit of them. In order to tempt lenders to part with their money, many lures were thrown out to them: An instant tax was assigned to some for their speedy repayment; this was called borrowing on anticipation: And perpetual

* Voltaire, who was a well-informed Historian when he could take the trouble to be so, gives the following enumeration of the French preparations for the siege of Turin: ' There were brought to the siege, a hundred and forty pieces of cannon, each of which, ' when mounted, cost two thousand crowns. There were a hundred and ten thousand ball, ' and a hundred and six thousand cartridges of one kind, and three hundred thousand of ' another kind, 21,000 bombs, 28,000 grenades, 15,000 bags of sand, 30,000 instruments ' for pioneers, 1,200,000 pounds of powder. - Add to these, the lead, the iron, and the ' tin, the ropes, every thing that is necessary for the miners, the sulphur, the saltpetre, ' utensils of all kinds.'

He concludes with this wise remark, That ' the expence of all these preparations ' of destruction would have been sufficient to found and to cause the greatest colony to ' flourish.'

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perpetual taxes to others, for a perpetual security; this was called funding. Some got taxes assigned to them for a certain number of years; others chose rather to hold them during the uncertainty of a number of lives: and hence the fashion of annuities and survivances, so expensive to the Public then, and so fatal to the extravagance of Youths of Family since. The privilege of gaming was given to some, and monopolies to others, in return for their relieving the necessities of the State: To the one, Lotteries owe their origin: And to the other, several of the great Companies, and particularly the Bank of England, which, by discounting the bills of private persons, and discounting in a manner the public taxes by paying them before they were due, has supported the immense fabric of English credit against the storms of private and national misfortunes, and wars, and rebellions, and the bankruptcy of other Nations: To the same necessity of giving way to monopolies, the East India Company owes also its rise, which, under the name of a Body of Traders, is a mighty republic, commands an army of seventy thousand troops, and a revenue of five millions, has extended the glories of England by its conquests, and her disgraces by its rapines. But notwithstanding all these temptations to please all in their different humours, the fears of men concerning the stability of a new government, on which they thought the security of their repayment depended, and still more of the nature of securities for money to which they had not been accustomed, was the cause why King William's Parliaments found more difficulty to get money at an interest of eight *per cent.* when the Nation was but a few millions in debt, than their posterity do now in getting it at half that interest, when they owe above two hundred and fifty millions.

THE effects of those three combined causes had appeared strongly in the campaign of the year 1696: For the armies of all the belligerent powers lay inactive, because almost unable to hurt each other any longer, in garrisons, or in camps that resembled garrisons, amidst starving nations, depopulated countries, and exhausted treasuries: And these miseries which the war had created, led naturally to the termination of it. France, which suffered most, made the first advances to peace: England and Holland, which suffered next, next followed: Charles the

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Second of Spain, and the Emperor, who had suffered least, opposed it; the one, irritated by the sense of the injuries which he had received almost from his birth from Louis, though his brother-in-law; and the other, because he wished hostilities to continue for ever between the French and Spanish Kings, in order to promote his own views to the Spanish succession, in which the first of those Princes was his chief rival; and which he thought the other would not bequeath during war, to one who was slaughtering his people, stopping the passage of his treasures from the New World, and carrying a civil war into the bowels of his country.

Peace of
Ryswic.

BUT the Duke of Vendosme in the mean time, in the year 1697, taking Barcelona, and De Ponti the French Admiral taking Carthagea on the Spanish Main, where he gained two millions Sterling of treasure, Charles trembled for his dominions both in Spain and America. And the Duke of Savoy having been gained by money from France, by the vanity of marrying his daughter to the Son of the Dauphin, and perhaps what weighed with him more than either, by the grant of Pignerol, which was the key of France into Piedmont, to quit the grand alliance, and even to take the command of that French army which a few weeks before he had opposed at the head of the Emperor's army; the Emperor became afraid, and with reason, of the future defection of Holland and England, and that France, with the army which she had employed against the Duke of Savoy, and the Duke with his own army, might instantly fall upon him in Italy, first consented to a neutrality there, and afterwards to a general peace. Louis restored all the conquests which he had made during the war, together with some of his usurpations previous to it; and in concurrence with the other Powers of Europe, acknowledged the title of William to the British Crowns. France lost nothing by the war but Pignerol. The Germans and Spaniards got only their own back again. But the Dutch and English esteemed they had gained every thing; the first, when a power of keeping garrisons in the Spanish towns in the Netherlands, in order to form a barrier to themselves against France, was conferred upon them, which involved in it the honour of protecting that Power which had formerly oppressed them; and the last, when, by the establishment
of

of the revolution, and the renunciation of the cause of James by all the world, they gained their liberty. The House of Commons spoke the voice of all England, when, in their congratulatory address to the King, they said, 'The period of the war has confirmed us in the possession of our rights and liberties, and so fully completed the glorious work of our revolution.' A generous principle of joy! because national wealth or power, without liberty, is only splendid misery.

THE wife, however, in England, could not help observing, that though the superiority of the naval arms of England over those of France was so great, that the number of guns taken in ships of war from the French was 2224, and those of the English by the French only 1112 *, and that the navies of France during the four last years of the war, had hardly dared to stir from their harbours, or done it only by stealth; yet that neither England nor Holland had during the war destroyed one harbour, or made themselves masters of one colony or one plantation belonging to France, except the Fort of Pondicherry, which the Dutch had seized, anxious, like merchants, for the fate of the trade of their East-India Company.

BUT those who thought for nations, and felt for human nature, reflected with regret, that at the end of a nine years war, in which the lives of 800,000 soldiers and seamen had been lost, and 700 millions spent, yet none of the contending powers had gained one penny of money, or almost one foot of territory.

DURING the course of the war, the English and French, from mutual animosity, had laid such excessive duties on the commodities of each other, as could not have failed, after the peace, to diminish the commerce between the two countries, and to force it into contraband importations; and therefore, in the Articles of Peace, an opening was made to remedy this evil, by a provision for a future Commercial Treaty, in which justice might be done to both nations, upon equitable concessions to be made by both. But the provision was not carried into

Provision for
a Commercial
Treaty.

* Burchet, page 407.

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into execution : For, while some in England maintained, ‘ That in a
‘ commerce with France as free as with other countries, England
‘ would have the advantage, because she would find in France a mar-
‘ ket of twenty millions of customers for her commodities, when France
‘ could find in England a market only of six millions ;’ others rea-
soned, or might have reasoned, ‘ That even the greatness of the market
‘ would make England depend upon France for a market too much,
‘ because by withdrawing it, she might distress England when she
‘ pleased : that the Florentines, as the historian Guicciardine relates,
‘ had been intimidated from espousing the cause of Italy, upon the in-
‘ vasion of Charles the Eighth, by the danger of losing their commerce
‘ with France : that Louis the Fourteenth had held out his tariffs to
‘ the Dutch commerce, sometimes as a lure, and sometimes as a scourge :
‘ that as there had been an Italian and French party in Florence, and
‘ was then a Dutch and French party in Holland ; so in England there
‘ would arise, in future times, an English and a French party, in which
‘ the Landed Interest, looking forward to future security, would take the
‘ one side, and the Manufacturers and Merchants, who look only at im-
‘ mediate profit, the other ; and that therefore the question was, whether
‘ England would prefer wealth to power ? But that there was another
‘ way to insure both, to wit, by bounties, drawbacks of duties, and
‘ every encouragement political and commercial, to rear up her own
‘ colonies into an empire of customers.’—It is a true saying, that
what is likely to happen, does not always happen. England preferred
the second of those alternatives ; and that empire of customers be-
came an empire of enemies, in alliance with that very France from
which it had often been protected by the mother country. The other
alternative is now tried by the late commercial treaty with France.
That that treaty will add wealth to British commerce, and increase British
revenue, not only by the extent of the market, but by the interruption
of contraband commerce, is certain. But whether Britain may by that
means exchange trade for manufacture, the rudder for the shuttle, and
lose in consequence, in power, and in empire, what she gains in money ;
experience, not probability, will determine. Should that change come
about, the partridge is at present only fattening for the hawk.

KING

KING WILLIAM was in Holland when the Peace of Ryfwic was signed. But though he was so simple in his own manners as to stop the erection of triumphal arches which were preparing in London on the peace, in honour of his return; yet he could display all the show of parade, when he thought it could do honour to his kingdom, or his friends. He therefore sent the Earl of Portland ambassador to France, to compliment the French King, at an expence, as was reported, of eighty thousand pounds. In compliment to the taste of Louis, who had many men of letters about his Court, Lord Portland carried with him as his Secretary, Mr Prior the poet, afterwards so famous for his negociations at the end of Queen Anne's reign. The parade of Lord Portland is forgot, when a saying of Prior is remembered; for, one of the French Courtiers having shewn him the actions of Louis painted in the gallery of Versailles, and asked in what manner King William's were painted at Whitehall, Prior answered, 'My Master's actions are to be seen every-where, except in his own house.'

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Lord Port-
land's Em-
bassy.

THE Peace was accompanied with two pieces of intended generosity by the King to the exiled Family. By the one, he obliged himself to pay fifty thousand pounds a-year to King James's Queen, the jointure to which she would have been entitled had her husband died King of England. By the other, he consented that the young Son of King James should be educated a Protestant in England, and succeed to the Crown at the end of the present reign. The evidence of this last fact, though long known to some, came only lately to the knowledge of all, from James's own Memoirs in the Scots College at Paris: and the merit or demerit of no action of William's life has been more the subject of difference, in private opinion at least, than this one: For, while some have thought, that the punishing the guilty Father, and restoring the innocent Son, would have made the justice of the Revolution compleat, and thrown out a sufficient terror to all succeeding Princes; others with more reason have said, 'That the measure could not have failed to sow dissensions in the nation, by bringing a rival to cope with the reigning King in his palace: that the old race of Princes would have come to the throne, with old claims like Charles the Second, and
' old

Offers to the
Family of the
late King.

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‘ old enmities like James the Second; whereas a New Family could be brought in upon new conditions, would be dependent for possession upon the observance of those conditions, and, having neither given nor received injuries, could have no hostile minds to any of their subjects, nor any of their subjects to them.’ The same folly about religion which made James lose his throne, lost the reversion of it to his Son; for, he refused the offer, under pretence that his accepting it was an acknowledgement of his abdication, but in reality because he would not permit the Prince to be bred a Protestant. He also disappointed his Queen of her jointure; for, Lord Portland and Marechal Boufflers, who had verbally settled the agreement about the jointure, having differed in their account of the terms of it, the one averring the condition of the gift to have been, that James’s Family was to reside in the South of France, or in Italy, and the other denying it, James refused to quit the neighbourhood of England; and Louis was ashamed to press him to quit it, lest his doing so had been imputed to a desire to disburden himself of the expence of supporting the Court of James, by laying it on King William.

BOOK VI.

B O O K VI.

ADVENTURES of Paterfon, and description of Darien.—Paterfon's original intention.—Alters it.—Darien Company erected.—England opposes it.—The Scots support it.—Fate of the first colony.—William recommends an Union of kingdoms to give England the benefit of Darien.—Fate of the second colony.—Reflections.—Note. Mr Paterfon's last plan for the Darien Company, and account of the country by him.

A. D. 1698. 1699.

THE peace of Ryfwic was fucceeded by an event, which had well nigh created a civil war between Scotland and England. As the writers of no nation are more marked by grandeur and meanness of composition in the fame person, and the actors in public life by grandeur and meanness of character in the fame person, than those of England; so the proceedings of the national assembly of England, the noblest that ever was on earth, except that of Rome, are often tinctured with a strange mixture of the great and the little. Of this truth an instance appeared at this time in the proceedings of Parliament, with regard to the Scots colony of Darien settled by Mr Paterfon; of which colony I proceed to give an account more authentic than has hitherto met the public eye, because I have had access to the papers of the company, some of which are in the Advocates

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and descrip-
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Library, and others in the Exchequer at Edinburgh, and to the family-papers of many who were the chief actors in the company's affairs.

THE birth of Paterfon is unknown. It is probable he had education, because he expressed himself well in writing, and had a good address. He was bred to the church; but having a violent propensity to see foreign countries, he made his profession the instrument of indulging it, by going to the new western world, under pretence of converting the Indians to the religion of the old world. In his courses there, he became acquainted with Captain Dampier and Mr Wafer, who afterwards published, the one his voyages, and the other his travels, in the regions where the separation is narrowest between the Atlantic and the South Seas, and both of whom, particularly the first, appear by their books to have been men of considerable observation. But he got much more knowledge from men who could neither write nor read, by cultivating the acquaintance of some of the old Buccaneers, who, after surviving their glories and their crimes, still, in the extremity of age and misfortune, recounted with transport the ease with which they had passed and repassed from the one sea to the other, sometimes in hundreds together, and driving strings of mules before them loaded with the plunder of friends and of foes. Paterfon having examined the places, satisfied himself, that on the Isthmus of Darien there was a tract of country running across from the Atlantic to the South Sea, which the Spaniards had never possessed, and inhabited by a people continually at war with them; that along the coast, on the Atlantic side, there lay a string of islands called the Sambaloes, uninhabited, and full of natural strengths and forests; from which last circumstance, one of them was called the island of pines; that the seas there were filled with turtle, and the manatee or sea cow; that midway between Portobello and Carthagena, but near fifty leagues distant from either, at a place called Acta, in the mouth of the river of Darien, there was a natural harbour, capable of receiving the greatest fleets, and defended from storms by other islands which covered the mouth of it, and from enemies by a promontory, which commanded the passage, and by hidden rocks in the passage itself; that on the other side of the isthmus, and in the same tract of country, there were natural harbours, equally capacious and well defended; that the two seas were connected by a ridge of hills, which, by their height, created a tem-

perate climate in the midst of the most sultry latitudes, and were sheltered by forests, yet not rendered damp by them, because the trees grew at a distance from each other, having very little under-wood; that, contrary to the barren nature of hilly countries, the soil was of a black mould two or three feet deep, and producing spontaneously the fine tropical fruits, and plants, and roots, and herbs; that roads could be made with ease along the ridge, by which mules, and even carriages, might pass from the one sea to the other in the space of a day, and that consequently this passage seemed to be pointed out by the finger of nature, as a common centre, to connect together the trade and intercourse of the universe*.

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* The first letter from the council to the directors contains these words: "The wealth, fruitfulness, health, and good situation of the country proves for the better, much above our greatest expectation, which God Almighty seems to have wonderfully reserved for this occasion."

"As to the country, we find it very healthful; for although we arrived here in the rainy season, from which we had little or no shelter for several weeks together, and many sick among us, yet they are so far recovered, and in so good a state of health, as could hardly any where be expected among such a number of men together. Nor know we any thing here of those several dangerous and mortal distempers so prevalent in the English and other American islands."

"In fruitfulness this country seems not to give place to any in the world; for we have seen several of the fruits, as cocoa nuts, whereof chocolate is made, bonellos, sugar canes, maize, oranges, plantains, mangoe, yams, and several others; all of them of the best of their kind any where found."

"Nay, there is hardly a spot of ground here but what may be cultivated: For, even upon the very tops and sides of the hills and mountains, there is commonly three or four foot deep of rich earth, without so much as a stone to be found therein."

"Here is good hunting and fowling, and excellent fishing in the bays and creeks of the coast; so that, could we improve the season of the year just now begun, we should soon be able to subsist of ourselves; but fortifying and building will lose us a whole year's planting."

"We intreat you to send us a good engineer, who is extremely wanted here, this place being capable of being strongly fortified."—Letter from the Council, 28th December 1698.

"The hills are clothed with tall trees, without any under-wood, so that one may gallop conveniently among them, many miles, free from sun and rain, unless of a great continuance."

"Between these hills and the sea are gentle declivities, and a rich fat soil, full of all

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PATERSON knew that ships which stretch in a straight line from one point to another, and with one wind, run less risks, and require fewer hands, than ships which pass through many latitudes, turn with many coasts, and require many winds; in evidence of which, vessels of seven or eight hundred tons burden are often to be found in the south seas, navigated by no more than eight or ten hands, because these hands have little else to do than to set their sails when they begin their voyage, and to take them in when they end it; that as soon as ships from Britain got so far south as to reach the trade-wind, which never varies, that wind would carry them to Darien, and the same wind would carry ships from the bay of Panama, on the opposite side of the isthmus, to the East Indies; that as soon as ships coming from the East Indies to the bay of Panama got so far north as the latitude of 40, to reach the westerly winds, which, about that latitude, blow almost as regularly from the west as the trade winds do from the east, these winds would carry them, in the track of the Spanish Aquapulca ships, to the coast of Mexico; from whence the land wind, which blows for ever from the north to the south, would carry them along the coast of Mexico into the bay of Panama. So that, in going from Britain, ships would encounter no uncertain winds, except during their passage south into the latitude of the trade-wind; in coming from India to the bay of Panama no uncertain winds, except in their passage north to the latitude of the westerly winds; and in going from the other side of the isthmus to the east, no uncertain wind whatsoever.

GOLD was seen by Paterfon in some places of the isthmus; and hence an island on the Atlantic side was called the Golden Island, and a river on the side to the South sea was called the Golden River: But these were objects which he regarded not at that time, because far greater were in his eye; the removing of distances, the drawing nations nearer to each other, the preservation of the valuable lives of seamen, and the saving in freight, so important to merchants, and in time, so important to them, and to an animal whose life is of so short duration as that of man.

"manner of vegetables, among which are many not known to us in Europe"—History of Caledonia,

A variety of papers of the company, in the Advocates Library, prove, that the soil was good, the climate healthy, and the passage from sea to sea not difficult.

By this obscure Scotsman a project was formed to settle, on this neglected spot, a great and powerful colony, not as other colonies have for the most part been settled, by chance, and unprotected by the country from whence they went, but by system, upon foresight, and to receive the ample protection of those governments to whom he was to offer his project. And certainly no greater idea has been formed since the time of Columbus.

I should do injustice to the ideas which swelled in Mr Paterfon's mind, if I expressed them in any other words than his own. In one of his letters to the Darien Company, he says, "The time and expence of navigation
" to China, Japan, the spice-islands, and the far greatest parte of the East
" Indies, will be lessend more then half, and the consumption of Euro-
" pean commodities and manufactories will soon be more than doubled.
" — Trade will increase trade, and money will beget money, and the
" trading world shall need no more to want work for their hands, but will
" rather want hands for their work. Thus this door of the seas, and the
" key of the universe, with any thing of a reasonable management, will, of
" course, enable its proprietors to give laws to both oceans, and to become
" arbitrators of the commercial world, without being lyable to the fa-
" tiges, expences, and dangers, or contracting the guilt and blood of
" Alexander and Cæsar. In all our empires that have been any thing uni-
" versal, the conquerors have been obliged to seek out and court their
" conquests from afar; but the universal force and influence of this attrac-
" tive magnet, is such, as can much more effectually bring empire home to
" its proprietors doors.

" But from what hath been said you may easily perceive, that the na-
" ture of these discoveries are such as not to be engroft by any one nation
" or people, with exclusion to others; nor can it be thus attempted with-
" out evident hazard and ruin, as we see in the case of Spain and Portu-
" gall; who, by their prohibiting any other people to trade, or so much
" as goe to, or dwell in the Indies, have not only lost that trade they
" were not able to maintain, but have depopulated, and ruined their
" countries therewith; so that the Indies have rather conquered Spain and
" Portugall, then they have conquered the Indies: for, by their permit-
" ting all to go out and none to come in, they have not only lost the peo-

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“ ple which are gone to these remote and luxuriant regions, but such as
 “ remain are become wholly unprofitable, and good for nothing: Thus,
 “ not unlike the case of the dog in the fable, they have lost their own
 “ countrys, and yet not gotten the Indies. People and their industry are
 “ the true riches of a prince or nation; and, in respect to them, all other
 “ things are but imaginary. This was well understood by the people of
 “ Rome, who, contrary to the maxims of Sparta and Spain, by general
 “ naturalizations, liberty of conscience, and immunity of government, far
 “ more effectually and advantageously conquered and kept the world, than
 “ ever they did, or possibly could have done, by the sword.”

PATERSON'S ORIGINAL INTENTION.

PATERSON'S original intention was to offer his project to England, as the country which had the most interest in it, not only from the benefit, common to all nations, of shortening the length of voyages to the East Indies, but by the effect which it would have had to connect the interests of her European, West-Indian, American, African, and East Indian trade. For the English ships, which, for the most part, go with half a cargo to the West Indies and America, would then have carried another half outwards to the isthmus, to be transported from thence to the East. The ships in the African trade, after selling their slaves, might have gone to the isthmus, and returned loaded with the produce of the East. The ships of the East-India Company, which go, in a manner, without freight to the East Indies, would, after getting one freight to the port of the South sea from the India sea, have returned with another, to open a trade with the islands which lie between New Holland and India, if they kept near the line; and to increase the trade to China and India, according as they kept farther to the north of the line.

BUT PATERSON having few acquaintance, and no protection in London, thought of drawing the public eye upon him, and ingratiating himself with monied men, and with great men, by assisting them to model a project, which was at that time in embryo, for erecting the Bank of England. But that happened to him, which has happened to many in his situation: the persons to whom he applied made use of his ideas, took the honour of them to themselves, were civil to him for a while, and neglected him after-

wards. He therefore communicated his project of a colony only to a few persons in London, and these few discouraged him.

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HE was one of the very few of his countrymen who never drunk wine, and who was by nature void of passion; and therefore, as if nothing disagreeable had happened to him, he went to the continent, and by means of one Serrurier, whom he associated into his views, a Walloon banker, who spoke all languages, and could accommodate himself to all men; he made offer of his project to the Dutch, the Hamburgers, and the Elector of Brandenburg, because by means of the passage of the Rhine and Elbe through their states, he thought, that the great additional quantities of East-Indian and American goods, which his colony would bring into Europe, would be distributed through Germany. The Dutch and Hamburg merchants, who had most interest in the subject of his visit, heard him with indifference: The Elector, who had very little interest in it, received him with honour and kindness. But court-arts and false reports lost him even that prince's favour.

INGENIOUS men draw to each other like iron and the loadstone: Pater-
terson, on his return to London, formed a friendship with Mr Fletcher of Salton, whose mind was inflamed with the love of public good, and all of whose ideas to procure it had a sublimity in them. Fletcher disliked England, merely because he loved Scotland to excess; and therefore the report common in Scotland is probably a true one, that he was the person who persuaded Pater-son, to trust the fate of his project to his own countrymen alone, and to let them have the sole benefit, glory, and danger of it; for in its danger Fletcher deemed some of its glory to consist.

Alters his intention.

ALTHOUGH Fletcher, who had nothing to hope for and nothing to fear, because he had a good estate and no children, was of the country party; yet, in all his schemes for the public good, he was in use to go as readily to the King's ministers as to his own friends, being indifferent who had the honour of doing good, provided it was done. His house in East Lothian was near to that of the Marquis of Tweeddale, then minister for Scotland, and therefore they were often together. Fletcher brought Pater-son down to Scotland with him, presented him to the Marquis, and then, with that power which a vehement spirit always possesses

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over a diffident one, persuaded the Marquis, by arguments of public good, and of the honour which would redound to his administration, to adopt the project. Lord Stair and Mr Johnston, the two secretaries of state, patronised those abilities in Paterson which they possessed in themselves; and the Lord Advocate, Sir James Stewart, the same man who had adjusted the Prince of Orange's declaration at the Revolution, whose son was married to a niece of Lord Stair, went naturally along with his connections. These persons, in June 1695 procured a statute from Parliament, and afterwards a charter from the Crown in terms of it, for creating a trading company to Africa and the new world, with power to plant colonies and build forts, with consent of the inhabitants, in places not possessed by other European nations.

Darien Com-
pany erected.

PATERSON, now finding the ground firm under him, and that he was supported by almost all the power and talents of his country, the character of Fletcher, and the sanction of an act of Parliament and royal charter, threw his project boldly upon the public, and opened a subscription for a company. The frenzy of the Scots nation to sign the solemn league and covenant, never exceeded the rapidity with which they ran to subscribe to the Darien Company. The nobility, the gentry, the merchants, the people, the royal burghs, without the exception of one, most of the other public bodies, subscribed. Young women threw their little fortunes into the stock, widows sold their jointures to get the command of money for the same purpose. Almost in an instant L. 400,000 were subscribed in Scotland, although it be now known, that there was not at that time above L. 800,000 of cash in the kingdom*. The famous Mr Law, then a youth, afterwards confessed, that the facility with which he saw the passion of speculation communicate itself from all to all, satisfied him of the possibility of producing the same effect from the same cause, but upon a larger scale, when the Duke of Orleans, in the year of the Mississippi, engaged him, against his will, to turn his bank into a bubble. Paterson's project, which had been received by strangers with fears when opened to them in private, filled them with hopes when it came to them upon the wings of public fame: For Colonel Erskine, son to Lord Cardross, and Mr Haldane of Gleneagles, the one a generous branch of a generous stem, and the other a country

* Ruddiman Numismata.

gentleman of fortune and character, having been deputed to receive subscriptions in England and on the continent, the English subscribed L. 300,000, and the Dutch and Hamburgers L. 200,000 more.

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IN the original articles of the company it had been agreed, that Paterfon should get two per cent. on the stock, and three per cent. on the profits; but when he saw the subscriptions so vast, he gave a discharge of both claims to the company; and in doing so, contrived to throw a grandeur of expression and sentiment, even into a law-release. "It was not," said he, "suspicion of the justice or gratitude of the company, nor a consciousness that my services could ever become useless to them, but the ingratitude of some individuals experienced in life, which made it a matter of common prudence in me, to ask a retribution for six years of my time, and L. 10,000 spent in promoting the establishment of the company. But now that I see it standing upon the authority of Parliament, and supported by so many great and good men, I release all claim to that retribution, happy in the noble concession made to me, but happier in the return which I now make for it."

IN the mean time the jealousy of trade, which has done more mischief to the trade of England than all other causes put together, created an alarm in England; and the Houses of Lords and Commons, without previous inquiry or reflection, on the 13th December of the year 1695, concurred in a joint address to the King, against the establishment of the Darien Company, as detrimental to the interest of the East-India Company. Soon after, the Commons impeached some of their own countrymen, for being instrumental in erecting the Company; and also some of the Scots nation, one of whom was a Peer, Lord Belhaven; that is to say, they arraigned the subjects of another country, for making use of the laws of their own. Among six hundred legislators, not one had the happy ray of genius to propose a committee of both Parliaments, to inquire into the principles and consequences of the establishment; and if these should, upon inquiry, be found good, that the benefit of it should be communicated, by a participation of rights, to both nations. The King's answer was, "that he had been ill advised in Scotland." He soon after changed his Scottish ministers, and sent orders to his resident at Hamburg to present a me-

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memorial to the senate, in which he disowned the company, and warned them against all connections with it. The senate sent the memorial to the assembly of merchants, who returned it with the following spirited answer. "We look upon it as a very strange thing, that the King of Britain should offer to hinder us, who are a free people, to trade with whom we please; but are amazed to think, that he would hinder us from joining with his own subjects in Scotland, to whom he had lately given such large privileges, by so solemn an act of Parliament." But merchants, though mighty prone to passion, are easily intimidated: The Dutch, Hamburgh, and London merchants withdrew their subscriptions.

The Scots
support it.

THE Scots, not discouraged, were rather animated by this oppression; for they converted it into a proof of the envy of the English, and of their consciousness of the great advantages which were to flow to Scotland from the colony. The Company proceeded to build six ships in Holland, from thirty-six to sixty guns, and they engaged twelve hundred men for the colony; among whom were younger sons of many of the noble and most ancient families of Scotland, and sixty officers who had been disbanded at the peace, who carried with them such of their private men, generally raised on their own, or the estates of their relations, as they knew to be faithful and brave; and most of these were Highlanders. The Scots Parliament, on the 5th August 1698, unanimously addressed the King to support the company. The Lord President, Sir Hugh Dalrymple, brother to Lord Stair, and head of the bench, and the Lord Advocate, Sir James Stuart, head of the bar, jointly drew memorials to the King, able in point of argument, information, and arrangement, in which they defended the rights of the company, upon the principles of constitutional and of public law*. And neighbouring nations, with a mixture of surprise and respect, saw the poorest kingdom of Europe sending forth the most gallant, and the most numerous colony that had ever gone from the old to the new world.

Fate of the
first colony.

On the 26th day of July of the year 1698, the whole city of Edinburgh poured down upon Leith, to see the colony depart, amidst the tears, and

* Page 41. of Collection of Papers concerning Darien, printed anno 1700, intitled, A full and exact Collection of Addresses, Memorials, &c.

prayers,

prayers, and praises of relations and friends, and of their countrymen. Many seamen and soldiers, whose services had been refused, because more had offered themselves than were needed, were found hid in the ships, and, when ordered ashore, clung to the ropes and timbers, imploring to go, without reward, with their companions. Twelve hundred men sailed in five stout ships, and arrived at Darien in two months, with the loss of only fifteen of their people. At that time it was in their power, most of whom were well born, and all of them hardily bred, and inured to the fatigues and dangers of the late war, to have gone from the northmost part of Mexico to the southmost of Chili, and to have overturned the whole empire of Spain in the South Seas: But modest, respecting their own and their country's character, and afraid of being accused that they had plunder, and not a settlement in view, they began with purchasing lands from the natives, and sending messages of amity to the Spanish Governours, within their reach. And then fixed their station at Acta, calling it New St Andrew from the name of the tutelar saint of Scotland, and the country itself New Caledonia. One of the sides of the harbour being formed by a long narrow neck of land which ran into the sea, they cut it across, so as to join the ocean and the harbour. Within this defence they erected their fort, planting upon it fifty pieces of cannon. On the other side of the harbour, there was a mountain a mile high, on which they placed a watch-house, which, in the rarified air within the tropics, so favourable for vision, gave them an immense range of prospect, to prevent all surprise. To this place, it was observed, that the Highlanders often repaired, to enjoy a cool air, and to talk of their friends they had left behind in their hills, friends whose minds were as high as their mountains. The first public act of the colony was to publish a declaration of freedom of trade and religion to all nations. This luminous idea originated with Paterfon *.

* The words are : " And we do hereby not only grant and concede, and declare a general and equal freedom of government and trade to those of all nations who shall hereafter be of, or concerned with us ; but also a full and liberty of conscience in matter of religion." This was the idea of Paterfon from the beginning ; Vide his Letter to the Provost of Edinburgh, 9th July 1695.

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BOOK IV.

Dutch and
Spaniards
oppose com-
pany.

BUT the Dutch East India Company having pressed the King, in concurrence with his English subjects, to prevent the settlement of Darien, orders had been sent from England to the Governours of the West Indian and American colonies, to issue proclamations against giving assistance, or even to hold correspondence with the colony; and these were more or less harshly expressed, according to the tempers of the different Governours. The Scots trusting to far different treatment, and to the supplies which they expected from those colonies, had not brought provisions enough with them; they fell into diseases, from bad food, and from want of food. But the more generous Savages, by hunting and fishing for them, gave them that relief which fellow Britons refused *. They lingered eight months, awaiting, but in vain, for assistance from Scotland, and almost all of them either died out, or quitted the settlement. Paterfon, who had been the first that entered the ship at Leith, was the last who went on board at Darien.

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DURING the space of two years, while the establishment of this colony had been in agitation, Spain had made no complaint to England or Scotland against it. The Darien council even averred in their papers (which are in the Advocate's Library), that the right of the company was debated before the King, in presence of the Spanish ambassador, before the colony left Scotland. But now, on the 3d of May 1696, the Spanish ambassador at London presented a memorial to the King, which complained of the settlement at Darien as an encroachment on the rights of his master. It was believed that this memorial proceeded more from the suggestion of the English and Dutch ministers, than from his own court, because it was observed that the orders to the English Governours were dated before the memorial of the Spanish Ambassador. But it was unfortunate for England herself, that no one of her ministers proposed to treat with the King of Spain, who was at that time in particular friendship with William, and dependant upon England, for a country which Spain did not possess, had no use for, and annoyed her with a continual and galling war, or at least for a passage through that country, on the payment of whatever customs the King of Spain should in a treaty demand.

* Hodge, page 135. and Darien Papers.

THE Scots, ignorant of the misfortunes of their colony, but provoked at this memorial, sent out another colony soon after of 1300 men, to support an establishment which was now no more. But this last expedition having been more hastily prepared than the first, was unlucky in its passage. One of the ships was lost at sea, many men died on ship-board, and the rest arrived at different times, broken in their health, and dispirited, when they heard the fate of those who had gone before them.—Added to the misfortunes of the first colony, the second had a misfortune peculiar to itself: The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland sent out four ministers, with orders, “To take charge of the
“souls of the colony, and to erect a presbytery, with a moderator,
“clerk, and record of proceedings, to appoint ruling elders, deacons,
“overseers of the manners of the people, and assistants in the exercise
“of church discipline and government, and to hold regular kirk-
“sessions.” When they arrived, the officers and gentlemen were occupied in building houses for themselves with their own hands, because there was no help to be got from others; yet the four ministers complained grievously that the council did not order houses to be immediately built for their accommodation. They had not had the precaution to bring with them letters of recommendation from the directors at home to the council abroad. On these accounts, not meeting with all the attention they expected from the higher, they paid court to the inferior ranks of the colonists, and by that means threw divisions into the colony. They exhausted the spirits of the people, by requiring their attendance at sermon four or five hours at a stretch, relieving each other by preaching alternately, but allowing no relief to their hearers. The employment of one of the days set aside for religious exercise, which was a Wednesday, they divided into three parts, thanksgiving, humiliation, and supplication, in which three ministers followed each other. And as the service of the Church of Scotland consists of a lecture with a comment, a sermon, two prayers, three psalms, and a blessing, the work of that day, upon an average of the length of the service of that age, could not take up less than twelve hours; during which space of time the colony was collected, and kept close together in the guard-room, which was used as a church, in a tropical climate, and in a sickly season. They presented a paper to the council, and made it public, requiring them to set aside a day for a

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1696.
Fate of 2d
colony.

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a solemn fasting and humiliation, and containing their reasons for the requisition, in which, under pretence of enumerating the sins of the people, they poured abuse on their rulers *. They damped the courage of the people, by continually presenting hell to them as the termination of life to most men, because most men are sinners. Carrying the presbyterian doctrine of predestination to extremes, they stopped all exertions, by shewing that the consequence of them depended not on those by whom they were made. They converted the numberless accidents to which soldiers and seamen are exposed, into immediate judgments of God against their sins. And, having resolved to quit the settlement, they, in excuse for their doing so, wrote bitter letters to the General Assembly against the characters of the colonists, and the advantages of the colony itself. The catalogue of crimes they summed up in the following words: " There have abound-
 " ed, and do still remain among us, such abominations (notwithstand-
 " ing all the means used to restrain and suppress them), as the rudest
 " heathens from the light of Nature do abhor; such as atheistical
 " swearing and cursing, brutish drunkenness, detestable lying and pre-
 " varicating, obscene and filthy talking, mocking of godliness, yea, and
 " among too many of the meaner sort, both thieving and pilfering, be-
 " sides Sabbath-breaking, contempt of all gospel ordinances, &c. which
 " are stumbling to the very Indians, opprobrious to the Christian name,
 " and reproachful to the church and nation to which we belong. A-
 " mong those that are free of those gross scandalous abominations, the
 " far greater part among us have little of the spiritual heart exercising
 " sense of religion, and the power of godliness: Many are grossly ig-
 " norant of the principles of religion; and, among the more knowing,

* One passage of the paper is, " First, it is too evident, many, both at home
 " and abroad, engaged in the prosecution of this great enterprise, have been more
 " influenced by their own selfish and worldly interests, than by a zealous concern,
 " either for the glory of God, or for the public honour and advantage of our na-
 " tion. Secondly, That, in the choice of instruments for promoting this noble de-
 " sign, there hath not been that tenderness and caution exercised, which the case
 " required, to admit or entertain none but such as were of known integrity, and fit
 " to advance the religious as well as the civil design of this settlement; on the
 " contrary, too many have been admitted into this service that are men of flagitious
 " lives, and some of pernicious principles."

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“hypocrisy, formality, impenitency, unbelief, indifferency, security, omission of prayer, neglecting the great salvation, flighting of Christ offered in the gospel, and other spiritual sins, do lamentably prevail.” One of them, in a kind of history of the colony which he published, with a savage triumph, exulted over the misfortunes of his countrymen in the following words:—“They were such a rude company, that I believe Sodom never declared such impudence in sinning as they. Any observant eye might see, that they were running the way they went; hell and judgement was to be seen upon them, and in them, before the time: Their cup was full; it could hold no more: They were ripe; they must be cut down with the sickle of the wrath of God.”

I HAVE collected these circumstances, to shew that, though religion be the noblest and firmest principle of great actions, yet, in the hands of weak men, it will defeat the greatest.

WHILE the second colony of the Scots were exposing themselves, far from their country, in the cause, mediately or immediately, of all who spoke the English language, the House of Lords of England were a second time addressing the King at home against the settlement itself. William alone saw what none of his Peers, or Members of Parliament, or Ministers did, that an union with Scotland was the true way to give the immediate benefit of the participation of the settlement to England, and to prevent a quarrel between the two nations; and therefore he answered the address of the Lords, on the 12th of February 1699, in the following words: “His Majesty does apprehend that difficulties may too often arise, with respect to the different interests of trade between his two kingdoms, unless some way be found out to unite them more nearly and completely; and therefore his Majesty takes this opportunity of putting the House of Peers in mind of what he recommended to his Parliament soon after his accession to the throne, that they would consider of an union between the two kingdoms. His Majesty is of opinion, that nothing would more contribute to the security and happiness of both kingdoms; and is inclined to hope, that, after they have lived near an hundred years under the same head, some expedient may be found for making them one people, in case a

The King
advises an
union.

“ treaty were set on foot for that purpose ; and therefore he does very
 “ earnestly recommend this matter to the consideration of the House.”
 But the spirit of party, of jealousy, and of insolence, which, by the activity it inspires, sometimes exhibits the English as the only nation on earth that deserves liberty, and at other times as the only nation that is unworthy of it, rendered vain the counsel of their Sovereign ; for, though the Peers, in compliment to his answer, could not avoid sending a bill to the Commons, to authorise commissioners to treat for an union with Scotland, the Commons rejected it.

THE last party that joined the second colony at Darien, after it had been three months settled, was Captain Campbell, father to the present Colonel Campbell of Finab, with a company of the people of his own estate, whom he had commanded in Flanders, and whom he carried to Darien in his own ship. On their arrival at New St Andrew, they found intelligence had been lately received, that a Spanish force of 1600 men, which had been brought from the coast of the South Sea, lay incamped at Tubucantce, waiting there till a Spanish squadron of eleven ships which was expected should arrive, when they were jointly to attack the fort. The military command was offered to Captain Campbell, in compliment to his reputation, and to his birth, who was descended from the families of Bredalbane and Athole. In order to prevent a joint attack, he resolved to attack first ; and therefore on the second day after his arrival, he marched with 200 men to Tubucantce, before his arrival was known to the enemy, stormed the camp in the night time, dissipated the Spanish force with much slaughter, and returned to the fort the fifth day : But he found the Spanish ships before the harbour, their troops landed, and almost all hopes of help or provision cut off ; yet he stood a siege near six weeks, till almost all the officers were dead, the enemy by their approaches had cut off his wells, and his balls were so far expended, that he was obliged to melt the pewter dishes of the garrison into balls. The garrison then capitulated, and obtained not only the common honours of war, and security for the property of the company, but, as if they had been conquerors, exacted hostages for performance of the conditions. Captain Campbell alone desired to be excepted from the capitulation, saying, he was sure the Spaniards could not forgive him the mischief which he so lately had done them. The brave by their courage

often escape that death which they seem to provoke : Captain Campbell made his escape in his vessel, and, stopping nowhere, arrived safely at New-York, and from thence to Scotland, where the company presented him with a gold medal, in which his virtue was commemorated, to inflame his family with the love of heroic actions *. And the Lord Lyon King at Arms, whose office it is in Scotland (and such offices should be every where) to confer badges of distinction according to the rules of heraldry upon honourable actions, gave him a Highlander and an Indian for supporters to his coat of arms. While the Spanish General and the Scots council were settling the terms of capitulation, the presbyterian ministers interfered : The Spanish Governor, thinking the interference officious, said to them in Latin, because they did not understand Spanish, "*Negotia tua cura*"—"Take care of your own business." One of them, with a mixture of petulance and spirit, answered, "*Curabo ;*"—"I will take care of it."

A HARDER fate attended those whom Captain Campbell left at Darien. They were so weak in their health as not to be able to weigh up the anchors of the Rising Sun, one of their ships, which carried sixty guns : But the generous Spaniards assisted them. In going out of the harbour, she ran aground : The prey was tempting ; and to obtain it, the Spaniards had only to stand by, and look on : But they shewed that mercy to the Scots in distress, which one of the countrymen of those Scots, General Elliot, returned to the posterity of the Spaniards, at the end of the late conflagration at the siege of Gibraltar. The Darien ships being leaky, and weakly manned, were obliged, in their voyage, to take shelter in different ports belonging to Spain and England. The Spaniards, in the new world, shewed them kindness ; the English governments shewed them none ; and in one place one of their ships was seized and detained †. Of these only Captain Campbell's ship, and another small one were saved : The Royal Sun was lost on the bar of Charlestown ;

* There is an engraving of the medal in Nisbet's Heraldry.

† Among the Darien papers there is an order from Secretary Vernon, 18th September 1700, to Sir William Beeston, Governor of Jamaica, to deliver up this ship.

And of the colony not more than thirty saved from war, shipwreck, or disease, ever saw their own country again. Three of the ministers survived. One of them in his history, converting the God of the universe into an instrument of gratifying the little passions of individuals, concludes the narrative of the escape of men, whom he calls God's jewels, in these words: "Then, last of all, Mr Stobo was remarkably and
" wonderfully taken from them, as a brand out of the fire, but a little
" before their final overthrow: Thus, when once Lot was got out of
" Sodom into Zoar, then, without any longer delay, the Lord rained
" destruction from heaven upon those cities of iniquity." Genesis, xix. 23. 24.

BUT the Church of Scotland was more just to the characters of the colonists; for that part of the address of the commission of the General Assembly of the Church, which was directed to the sea and land officers, contained the following spirited words: "We shall, in the next place,
" particularly address ourselves to you, that are in military charge, and
" have command over the soldiery, whether by land or sea. It is on
" you, honoured and worthy gentlemen, that a great share of the bur-
" den of the public safety lies: You are, in some respect, both the eyes
" and hands of this infant colony: Many of you have been lately en-
" gaged in a just and glorious war, for retrieving and defending the
" Protestant religion, the liberties, and rights of your country, under
" the conduct of a matchless Prince. And now, when through the
" blessing of the Lord of Hosts, his and your arms have procured an
" honourable peace at home; you, and others with you, have, with

ship to the company. There are among the papers many complaints of cruel usage by the English governors; but the most authentic is in a letter from the Directors to the Council, signed by the Marquis of Tweeddale, Lord Ruthven, and nine other of the chief Directors, of date 10th Feb. 1700, in the following words: "We think
" it needless to tell you all the tragical accidents that happened to the first colony
" after their departure for Caledonia: But in short the Endeavour sunk at sea,
" the men being saved by the Caledonia, which arrived at New York in the begin-
" ning of August last; as did also the Unicorn in great distress; after losing the best
" part of their men. They were barbarously treated by the Government there." But much of the correspondence which I have seen, proves that they were every where received with pity and kindness by individuals.

“ much bravery, embarked yourselves in a great, generous, and just un-
“ dertaking, in the remote parts of the earth, for advancing the ho-
“ nour and interest of your native country: If in this you acquit your-
“ selves like men and Christians, your fame will be renowned both abroad
“ and home.”

PATERSON, who had stood the blow, could not stand the reflection of misfortune. He was seized with a lunacy in his passage home *, after the ruin of the first colony; but he recovered in his own country, where his spirit, still ardent and unbroke, presented a new plan to the company, founded on the idea of King William, that England should have the joint dominion of the settlement with Scotland. The plan, in which there is much information and genius, together with an answer from Mr Pater-son to some questions of the company, concerning the nature of the coun-try, will be found in a note at the end of this book.

THE first article of the proposals in his plan is in these words: “ That
“ this designe be carried on by a joynt stock of two millions of pounds
“ Sterling, one fifth part thereof to belong to Scotland, and the other
“ four fifths to England.”

* He must have a heart of stone, who does not feel for Paterfon in his allusion to this cruel personal fatality, in the following words of his letter, of 19th December 1699, to the company. “ I was taken ill of a fever; but trouble of mind, as I found afterwards, “ was none of the least thereof.” In the same letter he thus describes his situation be-fore he left the colony: “ When the rest were preparing to go away, I was left alone on “ shore, in a weak condition. None visited me except Capt. Drummond, who with me “ still lamented our thoughts of leaving the place, and prayed God, that we might but “ hear from our country before we left the coast.” A letter from New York to the company, from a gentleman who was not concerned in their affairs, makes the follow- ing mention of Paterfon: “ In all these discourses, they (that is the colonists) gave Mr “ Paterfon his due praise: for truly, by what I could learn, he had been both diligent “ and true to the end. He looks more like a skeleton than a man.” This letter relates the reports of those who had left the colony, with regard to the nature of the country, in the following words. “ This mortality and sickness did not come from the un- “ wholesomeness of the place or climate; for they all agree that the place is very whole- “ some, the heat moderate, the water extraordinary good, and the soil surpassing be- “ lief.”

AND among the reasons upon which the proposal is founded, there are the following words: " Since these things can neither safely be divided
 " nor ingross, and, on the other hand, are such as that in them there
 " wants not room for many nations, I trust the Divine hand, who hath
 " directed this company to be the main discoverers thereof, shall likewise
 " indue them with suitable largeness of heart, understanding, zeal, in-
 " dustry, and success, in laying the same so effectually before the King
 " our Sovereign Lord, that from his gracious and powerful protection,
 " and the just and equal communication thereof to all his subjects, the
 " foundation of this designe may be made as large as his Majesty's empire,
 " and thereby be not only rendered more secure, happy, and durable;
 " but, instead of a bone of contention, become a bond of union to those
 " his Majesty's sister kingdoms."

" THE respect which, upon such an emergency, is due to the Royal
 " Majesty, and the affection we owe to our sister nation, will sufficiently
 " incline this company to be zealous and diligent in laying the weight of
 " these things before the King our Lord; and in using all becoming en-
 " deavours for bringing the rest of our fellow-subjects to be jointly con-
 " cerned in this great, extensive, and advantageous undertaking."

" THAT a proposal of this kind from the company, will be other than
 " acceptable, ought not to be supposed; since, by this means, the con-
 " sumption and demand of English growths and manufactures, and con-
 " sequently the employment of their people, will soon be more than
 " doubled; England will be hereby enabled to become the long desired
 " free port; and yet its publick revenues, instead of being diminished, will
 " thereby be greatly increased. By this, that nation will all at once be
 " eased of its laws of restraint and prohibitions, which, instead of being
 " encouragements, always have, and still continue to be the greatest letts,
 " (i. e. hindrances) to its trade and happiness *."

" It will not be fit for me to suppose, that either Scotland will make un-

* His plan, printed at the end of this book, will explain how he thought these effects were to be produced by the possession of Darien in the hands of Britain.

“ reasonable demands for their right of discovery, possession, or consent of
 “ the natives; or that they will at this tyme unkindly resent the late wrongs
 “ and injuries done them upon that account; or even although the two
 “ nations should come to be convinced of their joynt interest to be con-
 “ cerned, that yet they should disagree about the quantum; since here
 “ is a greater field of trade for both, than can possibly be improved in se-
 “ veral ages to come.”

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PATERSON survived many years in Scotland, pitied, respected, but neglected. After the union of the two kingdoms, he claimed reparation of his losses from the equivalent-money given by England to the Darien Company, but got nothing; because a grant to him from a public fund, would have been only an act of humanity, not a political job.

THUS ended the colony of Darien. — Men look into the works of Reflections. poets for subjects of satire; but they are more often to be found in the records of history. The application of the Dutch to King William against the Darien Company, affords the surest of all proofs, that it was the interest of the British islands to support it. England, by the imprudence of ruining that settlement, lost the opportunity of gaining and continuing to herself the greatest commercial empire that probably ever will be upon earth. Had she treated with Scotland, in the hour of the distress of the company, for a joint possession of the settlement; or adopted the union of kingdoms, which the Sovereign of both proposed to them, that possession could certainly have been obtained. Had she treated with Spain to relinquish an imaginary right, or at least to give a passage across the isthmus, upon receiving duties so high as to overbalance all the chance of loss by a contraband trade, she had probably obtained either the one or the other. Had she broke with Spain, for the sake of gaining by force one of those favours, she would have lost far less than she afterwards did, by carrying a war into that country for many years, to force a King upon the Spaniards against their will. Even a rupture with Spain, for Darien, if it had proved successful, would have knit the two nations together by the most solid of ties, their mutual interest: for the English must then have depended upon Spain for the safety of their caravans by land, and the Spaniards upon England for the safety of their fleets by sea. Spain and England

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would have been bound together as Portugal and England have long been; and the Spanish treasures have failed, under the wings of English navies, from the Spanish main to Cadiz, in the same manner as the treasures of Portugal have failed under the same protection, sacred, and untouched, from the Brazilles to Lisbon.

THERE are times when schemes the most visionary may succeed; and there are situations when the general interests of mankind should supersede the acquired rights of particular nations, even though much better founded than the rights of Spain to the passage and deserts of Darien. A commercial treaty between France and England, which, for near a century, had appeared impossible, has been lately brought about in a few months. And the Empress of Russia, by sounding the alarm to all nations, in favour of a system which provides, that free bottoms shall make free cargoes in times of war*, accomplished a revolution in the *jus gentium* of Europe al-

* There is a popular cry at present in England, on which account the chance is three to one that it is unjust, against the Empress of Russia, for introducing the system, that free bottoms make free cargoes in times of war. Strange! That Princess deserves a statue in the Royal Exchange, among the monarchs of England, for what she has done. The nation which has most trade, must always suffer most from the pillage of trade; and therefore the English beyond all others. The trade of England in the first years of the reign of King William was almost annihilated by capture; and in the late war it suffered most grievously, because exposed to that pillage, from which the regulations of the Empress, in the cause of humanity, of the merchants who are the general and inoffensive friends of human kind, and of the free communication of the enjoyments of life to all amidst the horrors of war, will for the future protect it. I have heard it said to the disparagement of Lord Sandwich, but in my estimation much to his credit, that he advised the foreign trade of England in the last war, to be carried on in neutral bottoms, in order to save it from the four enemies who lay in wait for it, and almost all the seamen and shipping of the nation to be employed against those enemies.

Louis XIV. in the first years of the war of the first grand alliance, proceeded upon a similar plan; for he threw all his seamen into ships of war and privateers, and thereby nearly annihilated the trade of England. One who surely was a good judge, Mr Burchet, secretary to the admiralty, says in his book, that no human contrivance could have protected the trade of England against that mode of attack at that time. It is true, that Louis by the exertion ruined the trade of his own kingdom. But this arose from the peculiarity of a circumstance to which it is not probable England will ever be exposed: For the King of France being at war with almost all the maritime coasts of Europe, it became impossible for his subjects to procure neutral ships to carry on their

most in an instant. It is not impossible that the personal and just pride of the present King of Spain, which induced him not to grudge the wealth of

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business; and thus he suspended, not only the shipping interest of his people, in which there was no great harm, but their trading interest also. And that suspension being continued for too long a period, during the wars of the first and second grand alliance, those interests could never be recovered, until a considerable time after the peace of Utrecht.

If the regulations of the Empress shall prevail, England in a war with France, Spain, or Holland, if it be a sea war, ought to have two objects in view; one to protect her own settlements, which, from their numbers, are but too vulnerable; and I remember well hearing Mr Grenville foretell in a private company, at the end of the war before last, that the next war would be an unsuccessful one, because England had too much to defend. The other object ought to be, to seize the sugar-islands of France, the Indies of Spain, and the Dutch islands in the East, with the Cape of Good Hope, which leads to them; because these are the fountain springs, from whence the waters of wealth flow into the public treasuries of the governments of those three countries; and they are all vulnerable there; of which the following circumstances are proofs: As no master of a china shop chuses to see people play at quarter staff in his shop, the French planters, in order to save their plantations from destruction, or, which is the same to them, from waste, were in the war before last, and will in every war, be the first to force their defenders to capitulate: Lord Anson in a single ship spread alarms all along the range of the South Sea: And it is known to all who have of late years been in Indian and African seas, that the soldiers who mount guard on the governor's palace of Batavia are Mallays, because he has no Europeans to put in their places; and that the Cape of Good Hope is a prey to the first enemy that falls upon it.

In order to obtain such objects, England may very well submit to a temporary suspension of her navigation-interest. The merchant cannot lose by that suspension, because if there was a loss in the difference of freight between foreign and home shipping, he would lay that loss on his customers. The manufacturer cannot lose, because it is indifferent to him in what ship his manufactures are exported. The ship-owner cannot lose, because his vessels will be employed in the service of government, or of privateers, or in the carrying trade of other nations. The nation cannot lose, because it will save the expence of insurance, and (which, perhaps, is not of less consequence to a wise and generous people) the reflection, that unhappy is that nation in which (as in the game of all insurances) the rejoicings of some are drowned amidst the cries of others of their own countrymen. But above all, the nation, and every individual of the nation, must gain in two respects: The first is, that to employ almost all the seamen (except those that are engaged in the coasting-trade, who are not exposed to capture) in ships of war or privateers, is to breed up, and form a naval militia, for defence at sea, in the same way as there is, or ought to be, a solid militia for defence by land. And the second is, that such an exertion will lead to the most economical of all economies, a speedy termination of war: For,

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a kingdom to recover Gibraltar, might induce him to give Darien to England for that fortress; and to throw into the bargain Ceuta and Tangier, by giving up the one, and purchasing from the Moors the other, though at an hundred times more price than they would think of asking for it; either of which places, particularly the last, and still more both of them, would give every advantage to England which she derives from Gibraltar*. Or should Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, the Emperor, Holland, England, France, Portugal, and Italy, join to obtain from Spain, by treaty or by force, a passage across the isthmus of Darien, (in the same way as the King of Denmark grants a passage to all nations through the Sound), on paying more for it than Spain can possibly lose by it, they would do more good to their subjects, than they have done by the three hundred

the continuation of war for only one half year after such exertion might have terminated it, will cost more to the public than the difference of freight between foreign and home shipping could amount to in half a century.

It may be said, that the French (for the experience of a century has proved that England has no other nation to dread) will play the same game, and won it with our own arts. That they will try it, whether we do so or not, is certain; because they have sense, they look before them, and their accession to the system of the *jus gentium* of the Empress of Russia shews that they see their way. But succeed they cannot, until their seamen shall become more numerous, more expert and bold in working a ship, and more brave in action than the English, which they certainly have never hitherto been; and until they shall possess the same advantages in victualling with the English, which they never can possess, as long as Ireland shall continue in the dominion of the crown of England; that is, as long as she shall be treated with justice and kindness by England. But should alterations happen in those respects, it will signify very little in what way England shall employ her seamen, because her trade, her navy, her settlements, and her empire, will then fall victims to France: The business of the day being over, England will set in darkness, like the sun.

* It is strange that English ministers never think of making advantage of the personal partiality of the present King of Spain for the acquisition of Gibraltar, which may not communicate itself to his successors. The writer of these pages, who was in Spain during the late war, has reason, and good reason, to believe, that the present King of Spain, in exchange for Gibraltar, would give Ceuta, and the island of Grand Canary, by which last, England would get what she never has had, a wine and fruit province; and also a great number of seamen already in the island; a power of interrupting one of the two passages of the Spanish treasures from the South seas to Spain in time of war; and above all, an immense fishery to the south of Cape Blanco, which has this advantage over the other fisheries possessed by Britain, that it can be made use of in the winter months.

great battles, in which they have been laying Europe waste for two centuries and a half back.

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BUT if neither Britain singly, nor the maritime parts of Europe jointly, will treat with Spain for a passage across Darien, it requires no great gift of prophecy to foresee, that the period is not very distant, when, in order to procure the precious metals at once, instead of waiting for them in the slow returns of trade, the States of America, who were able to defy the fleets of England, and the armies of England and Germany, will seize the pass of Darien, and with ease, by violence from the feeble dominion of Spain. Their next move, or perhaps rather part of the same move, will be, to take possession of the Sandwich Islands in the South Seas, discovered by the immortal Captain Cook, in the latitude of 22° north, where they will find (what was not found in the former islands discovered by him) provisions and salt enough; and besides these, swarms of mariners to sail in their ships; for, the officers who went first to the New Islands in the South Sea, in the present reign, agree, that the islanders in a few days ran along the yards, and up the shrouds of the ships, faster than our own people; for which there are two good reasons; the first is, that men who wear no shoes tread surer on ship-board, on yards, and on cordage, and cling faster than men who wear shoes; and the second, that as the inhabitants live much upon fish, they are all of them, even the women, almost by nature mariners.

STATIONED thus, in the middle, and on the east, and on the west sides of the new western world, the English Americans will form not only the most potent, but the most singular empire that has ever appeared; because it will consist, not in the dominion of a part of the land of the globe, but in the dominion of the whole ocean.—For on the one side of the new western continent, from the Sandwich Islands, they may, by turning a little to the south, run on the trade-wind to the East Indies; or by turning less than 20 degrees to the north, they may run upon the great west wind, which blows there ten months out of twelve in the year, to the coast of Mexico; by which the gold metals of the east, and the silver of the west, will be within their reach; and from Darien they will sail to China, from China to India, from India to Chili, and from Chili, by the south land-wind, which never varies, to Darien; that is to say, they will make the tour of

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the Indian and southern seas, collecting wealth by trade where-ever they pass, in little more time than a ship takes to sail from London to Venice, and from Venice back again.—On another side of the new western continent, possessing all stores for building ships at home, they will enjoy the three greatest fisheries in the world; in summer, the fisheries on their own coasts, and (perhaps the more important of the two) in their own rivers; in winter, the fisheries on both sides of Cape Horn, because the winters of the temperate are the summers of the frigid zone; and all the year round, those on the coast of Africa south of Cape Blanco.—On both sides of their continent, they will, during the wars of European nations with each other, enjoy, under the sanction of neutral bottoms, the carrying trade of those nations from Europe to the one, and from India to the other side of the new world; and even during peace they may engross the whole Indian trade of Europe, if they chuse to exclude other nations from the benefit of the passage; in which event, the East-India Companies of Europe will cease to be known, except by the territories which they possess in India.—To all nations their empire will be dreadful; because their ships will sail where-ever billows roll, or winds can waft them; and because their people, capable of subsisting either almost wholly on the produce of the waters, by means of their fisheries, or on the plunder and contributions of mankind, if they chuse to do so, will require few of their number to be employed in manufactures or husbandry at home; and, therefore, like the ancient Spartans, who defied all the power of Persia, or the roving Normans, who pillaged the sea-coasts of Europe from Jutland to Dalmatia, the occupation of every citizen will lie, not in the common employments of peace, but in the powers of offence, or defence alone.—Whether they may have arts and letters, will be a matter of chance. The Phenician and Carthaginian rovers had, the present successors of those Carthaginians have them not now, and the northern rovers never had them. But if they shall be blest with arts and letters, they will spread civilization over the universe. If, on the other hand, they shall not be blest with them, then they will once more plunge it into the same darkness, which nations have thrown upon each other, probably much oftener than history can tell: and when that happens, England, with all her glories and all her liberty, will be known only as a speck in the map of the world, as ancient Egypt, Sicily, Pontus, and Carthage are now.

THESE prospects should call the attention of the maritime nations of Europe to the importance of laying open the passage of Darien to all nations, instead of leaving it exposed to be seized, and to become the property of that people who ly nearest to it. But they call for the attention of Spain and of England beyond all others, because these powers have most to lose in the revolutions of America and Asia. It is however some comfort for those who feel for the cause of human nature, that if the States of America should, from the supineness of rulers and ministers, seize, and make the passage of Darien their exclusive property, the trading nations of the world would combine to wrest it from them. And as the men of this age have seen almost all Europe join, either actively or passively, to rear America into eminence, they may live to see all Europe join to pull her down again: And of all those powers, none (if future history can be judged of by past history) will be so ready to lend a helping hand to the work, as that very one to which she thinks she has lately owed the most.

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation, and that its history is a history of growth and expansion. The second is the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these immigrants. The third is the fact that the United States is a nation of free men, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these free men. The fourth is the fact that the United States is a nation of law, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these laws. The fifth is the fact that the United States is a nation of peace, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these peace.

The sixth is the fact that the United States is a nation of progress, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these progress. The seventh is the fact that the United States is a nation of justice, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these justice. The eighth is the fact that the United States is a nation of liberty, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these liberty. The ninth is the fact that the United States is a nation of equality, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these equality. The tenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of unity, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these unity.

Mr PATERSON'S LAST PLAN for the DARIEN COMPANY.

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BOOK VI.

To the Right Honourable the Court of Directors of the Indian and African
Company of Scotland,

1698.

Right Honourable,

THE care and duty incumbent upon me to seek the prosperity and good success of this Company, above all others my concerns on earth, presses me at this tyme, to represent the following matters of fact, together with my humble opinion and thoughts thereupon, to the consideration of this honourable Court.

I SHALL not now enter upon any particular description of what hath hitherto been discovered of that part of the isthmus of America, which as yet remains uninhabited, or is in the free possession of the native Indians; but shall wholly confine myself to some few things of the greatest moment, and which, for the most part, owe discovery to you.

THE seasons of the year in and about your settlement of Caledonia are principally two; the one whereof we call the Dry Season, because in it there is not any rain, but a continued course of brisk north westerly and northerly winds. This season begins in December, and ends in Apryle or May. During the rest of the year the rains are of two sorts, which may be properly enough called the greater and the lesser; the greater rains being the same which are usual in the West India islands, and other summer countries, are strong and violent. They begin commonly some time after twelve o'clock at night, and continue till noon next day, at which tyme it clears up; but very few such mornings happen during the whole season, and there is hardly ever two or more of them together. The lesser rains are only moderate and growing showers, whereof there is sometymes one, two, or more in the twenty-four hours. They continue seldom above a quarter or half an hour together, and fall for the most part in the night; yet we frequently have several days, nay sometimes weeks together, wherein there is not any sort of rains. During this season the winds continue likewise for the most part westerly; but there is frequent tornadoes and gusts of wind, and sometymes again the breeze fails, and is uncertain. With the rains there is also much thunder and lightning; but I never heard of any harm it did. What is here said only concerns that part of the coast which lyes between the Gulf of Uraba to the eastward, and the Sambalas to the westward, for the space of about forty-five leagues. But further to the westward at Portobello, and in some parts of the Gulf to the eastward, or other inland places, where the mountains are so high as to intercept the clouds, the rains are incomparably more constant and violent.

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THE sicklyest season for new-comers to this country is from April or May to September; and the diseases are commonly feavers and agues, and intermitting feavers. If people are not well lookt after, to the feavers and agues succeed dropfays, scurveys and fluxes, that are sometyms mortal. But, in the intermitting feavers, and feavers and agues of themselves, I have seen and heard of but little danger: Of the strong feavers, by some called callentures, I have seen or heard but very rarely; yet, Lieutenant Dryden, and as I remember one or two more, were carried off by such. And, generally speaking, the long lives and great prolifickness of the inhabitants, and others seasoned to the Indies, together with the fewness of, and the little danger in the diseases they are subject to, the wonderful ease in curing of wounds and fores when they happen, are no small indications of the great temperance and healthfulness of this climate.

THE great number of easie hills and ryfing grounds, with their interveening valeyes, multitude of springs, brooks, and rivers of waters, render the prospect of this coast exceeding delightful, and the whole country pleasant and commodious. The higher hills are within the lands towards the center of the country; but there seems none to be very high in this part of the Isthmus. The soyle in general is of a deep brownish mold; but I have also frequently seen strong clays, and other sorts of earth, here and there interveening. We have the depth of two, three, or four feet of this earth upon the sides, and even to the tops of these hills, whereupon there is not a stone to be seen, unless they be discovered by the water falls.

THIS coast is sensibly much cooler, and the heat more temperate and easy than I have observed in any of the American islands, or other the summer countries, of which its westerly winds, and the vicinity of the two great oceans, are doubtless none of the least occasions. Your harbour of Caledonia lyes in about eight degrees and forty minutes north latitude.

IN fruitfullness, as well as temperance and healthfullness, this country is inferior to none; and, besides dywoods, and other precious woods and growths, it is well stored with great variety of the best timber for shipping and other uses in the known world.

ROADS, harbours, and creeks, for the security of shipping, this coast hath many: But the most considerable for situation, security, and defence, is your port of Caledonia. In the bayes, creeks, and harbours of this coast, there is but here and there little slips and small quantities of drowned land; but in the Gulf of Uraba there are vast tracts thereof. This Gulf of Uraba is not yet well discovered; but what we know thereof is, that at its entrance, and where broadest, it hath seven or eight leagues in breadth, and hath four or five leagues in the narrowest places. It runs 25 or 30 leagues into the country, is clear, without any barr or impediment, and hath 25 or 30 fathom water in its channels. It hath many great rivers run into it, of which

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three or four are said to be larger than the Thames. The great river at the bottom of the Gulf enters it with several mouths; but these several mouths are all barred by rotten trees and other rubbish brought down with the floods, and there stoppt by the strong coast winds, tides, and currents. There is commonly but eight or nine foot water upon the barrs; but there is six, seven, eight, and nine fathom water when within, and so for many leagues up. Most of the other rivers of the Gulf are thus barred: But those barrs might be easily removed by industry; because their breadths for the most part exceed not a ship's length, and deep water without and within. On the west side of the Gulph, about 15 leagues up, there is a river about two leagues broad at the entrance, which hath no barr, but six or seven fathom water for several leagues up. On both sides of this river there are large tracts of drowned land, where, if we may believe the discoverers, grows great quantities of the dywood, commonly called Nicaragua-wood.

But the gold mines of this country, and its two passages from the north to the south sea, are above all other things the most valuable. Gold may be gotten in greater or lesser quantities in very many places of the isthmus: But since the late discoveries no mines are lookt after that will not yield at least half an ounce of gold per diem to the labourer: But they often yield a much greater quantity, even to half a mark or four ounces per day; and many thousand negroes or others might find constant employment at this rate.

In former times, the Spaniards had no mines in this country, but only a place not far from St Maria, where gold in grain was found to the value of about a Castilian, or the sixth part of an ounce per day; and sometimes they had possession of this, and at other times not, according as there was peace or war with the Indians: But, about 16 years ago, from the discoveries of the natives to some privateers, the three mines, called Sabalas, Achietee, and Talieque were found; and after the peace that then ensued, the Spaniards were permitted to work them. The mines of Talieque and Archietee lye each about a day's journey from St a Maria, and between these two there is only the distance of three leagues. From Archietee the Sabalas is five leagues, and from thence to the great mine of Cana there is about three days journey. This mine of Cana, with another of the like nature, about a day's journey nearer to the Cape Tiberoon, were both discovered by the natives about seven years ago. These mines consisted not only of gold in grain, in common with others of the country, but here was also found great quantities in vein and in stone. Gold in grain is such as they gather from the washings of the floods; gold in vein is where it is found in veins like other metals; and gold in stone is where gold is found intermixt in the rocks or quarries of stone. After the discovery of these mines, the Indians continued to get great quantities of gold even by their lazy and untoward way of working, until the Spaniards, who were then at peace with the natives, came to an agreement with them to send a number of negroes to work on certain conditions: But the Spaniards, having gotten

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in their finger, soon broke conditions with and disobliged the Indians, and this occasioned the present war between them; and for the recovery of this mine it was that the natives brought assistance at our first arrival. And although the mine does, without all doubt, belong to the natives, and we might justly enough have lent them assistance to recover their right; yet we declined it, lest we should thereby happen to give the least shadow or colour of offence. The mine of Cana continues still to be wrought by 1000 negroes, besides others: But the Spaniards have done what they can to stop up and stifle that next to Cape Tiburoon; because of its nearness to the north sea, and consequently of its vicinity to powerful neighbours. So far as I can learn, this mine of Cana lyes about 15 leagues from your harbour of Caledonia, towards the south-east.

BESIDES the mines already discovered and wrought, the gold found in the sands of almost every river nearer your settlement, and other things observable, doe sufficiently demonstrat, that there still remains other great and valuable discoveries to be made; but the natives are always the best discoverers, as being the only people left who have any tollerable knowledge of this country, now in a manner totally laid waste, and reduced to a wilderness.

IN our passage over land from Caledonia harbour, we have six leagues of very good way to a place called Swatee: From Swatee to Tubugantee we have between two and three leagues not so passable, by reason of the turnings and windings of the river, which must often be past and repast. But a little industry would make this part of the way as passable as any of the rest. At Tubugantee there is ten foot at high water, and so not less in the river till it fall into the Gulph of Ballona, which enters the south. This Gulph of Ballona receives severall great rivers, and hath excellent harbours and roads for shipping. This we commonly call the Pass of Tubugantee.

THE other pass being that of Cacarica lyes beyond the bottom of the Gulph of Ura-ba, in about six degrees of north latitude. Its distance from the harbour of Caledonia I reckon thus, viz. to Cap. Tiburoon eight or nine leagues; from thence to the bottom of the Gulph 25 or 30 leagues, and from the bottom of the Gulph they go up the great river about 12 leagues, and from thence they pass up a river on the right hand called Cacarica, about six leagues, and land at a place where there is a narrow neck of land, not above two English miles broad, of good passable way. After passing this neck of land they come to the navigable part of a river running into the South Sea, called Paya, and from thence they have 14 or 15 leagues into the South Sea.

About 35 leagues to the westward of Caledonia harbour, there is another pass from the river Conception on the north, to that called Chiapo on the South Sea. To go by this pass, it will cost four days of uneasy passage, in small boats, up the river Concep-

tion; and from thence there is four days more of very bad way to the river Chiapo; and the passing down that river in small canoes will cost four days more. So that there is no manner of comparison between this pass and the other two. Besides these, there remains only the pass of the river Chagra, ten leagues to the west of Portobell, where they have eighteen leagues by water, and about six by land. But, by reason of the want of a good harbour, the impediments of many flats in the river, and the great rains which fall thereabouts, the pass of Tubugantee seems far to exceed it; but certainly the conveniencies of Tubugantee and Cacarica together are beyond comparison. Upon the whole, although this country be so near, and lies so convenient in the world, yet we find it so far from being in the possession of any prince or state of Europe, that it then was, and in a great measure still remains, unknown to Christendome, or undiscovered to the trading world.

THE time and expence of navigation to China, Japan, the Spice islands, and the far greatest part of the East Indies, will be lessened more than half, and the consumption of European commodities and manufactories will soon be more than doubled.—— Trade will increase trade, and money will beget money, and the trading world shall need no more to want work for their hands, but will rather want hands for their work. Thus, this door of the seas, and the key of the universe, with any thing of a reasonable management, will, of course, enable its proprietors to give laws to both oceans, and to become arbitrators of the commercial world, without being liable to the fatigues, expences, and dangers, or contracting the guilt and blood of Alexander and Caesar. In all our empires that have been any thing universal, the conquerors have been obliged to seek out and court their conquests from afar; but the universal force and influence of this attractive magnet is such, as can much more effectually bring empire home to the proprietor's doors.

But, from what hath been said, you may easily perceive, that the nature of these discoveries are such as not to be engrossed by any one nation or people, with exclusion to others; nor can it be thus attempted, without evident hazard and ruin, as we see in the case of Spain and Portugall; who, by their prohibiting any other people to trade, or so much as goe to, or dwell in the Indies, have not only lost that trade they were not able to maintain, but have depopulated, and ruined their countries therewith; so that the Indies have rather conquered Spain and Portugall, than they have conquered the Indies: for, by their permitting all to go out, and none to come in, they have not only lost the people which are gone to these remote and luxuriant regions, but such as remain are become wholly unprofitable, and good for nothing: Thus, not unlike the case of the dog in the fable, they have lost their own countrys, and yet not gotten the Indies. People, and their industry, are the true riches of a prince or nation; and, in respect to them, all other things are but imaginary. This was well understood by the people of Rome, who, contrary to the maxims of Sparta and Spain, by general natura-

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lizations, liberty of conscience, and immunity of government, far more effectually and advantageously conquered and kept the world, than ever they did, or possibly could have done, by the sword.

BUT, taking a cursory view of the discoveries already made, we find that, besides dyewood, and other valuable growths, this country possesses vast quantities, and great variety, of the best timber for shipping, and other uses, any where found. We likewise find it capable of yielding sugar, tobacco, indigo, caraw, vanillas, annato, cotton, ginger, and such like, of the best, and in greater abundance, than ever can be consumed in the trading word. But, above all, its gold mines, and passes between the seas, are the most invaluable jewels. For, with regard to the mines, let us suppose that 25 or 30,000 negroes, and others, were employed, at but half an ounce of gold each head per day, it's easie to be seen, even at this rate, to what immense sums it would amount. And, on the other hand, do but open these doors of Tubagantee and Cacarica, and through them will naturally circulate and flow all the treasures, wealth, and rich commodities, of the spacious South Seas, such as gold, silver, copper, cochanill, saltpeter, caraco, vigonia wool, tortois-shell, balsam of Peru, ambergrease, beaser stone, pearls, emeralds, saphires, and other wealth, to the value of one hundred millions of crowns yearly.

TIME would fail to answer the several queries and objections of those who have not ripely considered a matter so vastly extensive, nor a proposal to the present purpose. But let me briefly state,

1. THAT no people on earth either did, or can pretend to a better right, than that of vacancy, which we have, not only in this case, but even that of the main discovery, and consent of the nearest neighbours on all hands, added thereto.

2. THAT, the right being evident, doubtless the weight of this matter, and the danger of its falling into other hands, if not timely and powerfully espoused, ought to outbalance all other state considerations whatsoever.

3. THAT the respect which, upon such an emergency, is due to the Royal Majesty, and the affection which we owe to our sister nation, will sufficiently incline this Company, to be zealous and diligent in laying the weight of these things before the King our Lord, and in using all becoming endeavours for bringing the rest of our fellow subjects to be jointly concerned in this great, extensive, and advantageous undertaking.

4. THAT a proposal of this kind from the Company will be other than acceptable, ought not to be supposed, since, by this means, the consumption and demand of English growth and manufactures, and consequently the employment of their people,

will soon be more than doubled. England will be hereby enabled to become the long desired free port, and yet its public revenues, instead of being diminished, will thereby be greatly increased. By this, that nation will at once be eased of its laws of restraint and prohibitions, which, instead of being encouragements, always have, and still continue, to be the greatest letts (i. e. hindrances) to its trade and happiness.

It will not be fit for me to suppose that either Scotland will make unreasonable demands for their right of discovery, possession, or consent of the natives; or that they will at this time unkindly resent the late wrongs and injuries done them upon that account; or, even although the natives should come to be convinced of their joint interest to be concerned, that they should disagree about the quantum; since here is a greater field of trade than can possibly be improved in several ages to come.

BUT, laying aside these, and other the like conjectures, the vanity and emptiness whereof the wise and prudent of both nations may easily be convinced; and, with regard to the vulgar, its hope they will, as some part of an atonement for the many groundless prejudices, and fond conceits, they use to entertain, be inclined, for this once, to so plain and profitable a truth. In expectation whereof, I shall endeavour to make a proposal, so just, equal, secure, and advantageous in itself, as may render it fit for Scotland to make, and England to accept, whatever the circumstances, or supposed circumstances, of either nation may be, with relation to this matter.

T H E P R O P O S A L.

1. THAT this design be carried on by a joint stock of two millions of pounds Sterling, one fifth part thereof to belong to Scotland, and the other four fifths to England.

2. THAT what this Company have already expended hereupon, be allowed them, as part of the said stock belonging to Scotland.

3. THAT the privileges of this joint Company be granted for twenty-one years, with consent of parliament.

4. IF, at the end of the said term of twenty-one years, the respective governments of the nations shall not think fit to renew these privileges to this joint Company's satisfaction; That then, over and above the profits received or become due, the said Company shall be repaid double the stock of money by them advanced, in supporting and promoting this undertaking.

5. THAT all his Majesty's subjects be permitted to trade to the ports and places in the possession of this joint Company, upon their paying a duty, not exceeding five per cent. of the value of all exportations from thence.

6. THAT foreigners may also be permitted to trade thither, upon their paying a duty, not exceeding five per cent. of all goods and effects by them imported, over and above the duty of exportation.

7. THAT a duty, not exceeding five per cent. be laid upon all goods and effects, or re-carried over land, from the one to the other sea.

8. THAT a duty, not exceeding ten per cent. be laid upon all mines, minerals, jewels, gems, stones of value, pearls, and ambergrease.

9. THAT one moiety of the said duties do go to the King for his protection, and the other to the Company for their stock.

10. THAT all such foreigners as shall come to be inhabitants in the places of the possession of this Company, may thereby have and enjoy the privileges of his Majesty's natural born subjects.

11. So soon as the duties payable to the crown by this proposal shall amount to an equivalent for the customs of both nations; that then the duties payable upon sugar, tobacco, wines, salt, and such like, may be levied by way of excise; and all manner of impositions upon trade or shipping taken off; that these kingdoms may hereby become free ports, as all good countrymen do and ought to wish.

So, beseeching Almighty God to bless this Company with wisdom, counsel, and other induements suitable to the greatness of the work, and to the valuable opportunity now in their hands; and, after all, that he would be graciously pleased to crown their just and noble designs with prosperity and glorious success. I am, &c.

LETTER from Mr PATERSON to the DIRECTORS of the DARIEN COMPANY.

A short description of the heads of my journal concerning the isthmus of Darien, relating to ports, rivers, harbours, islands, bays, on the north and south side of that part of the isthmus which the free Indians inhabit.

You, Gentlemen, are pleased to propose to me, which part, or how much of the country, in or near the isthmus of America, is possessed by the wild Indians, independent of the Spaniards?

My answer to this is, that, on the north coast, the Spaniards had no settlement (when I was there) from the bastiments, which lie to the eastward of Portobell, till you come about ten D. eastward to the mouth of the river Darien; all that tract of the Continent being possessed by Indian natives, who were under no subjection to the Spaniards; but some of them held some commerce with the Spaniards, and others of them were at war with them, inviting the privateers to their assistance against them. In the islands there are no inhabitants of any sort; but they are frequently visited, as well by the Indians from the Continent, as by the privateers.

On the South Seas coast, the free Indians have a much longer tract of ground, far from the river Cheapo, to about one half a degree south of the equator, making in a straight line, (without reckoning the bending of the coast), nine or ten degrees of latitude, and near upon 600 small ones; one about the river St Maria, and the Gold river in the gulph of St Michael; another upon the river of St John, which empties itself over against the island of Gorgona; and the third, which is called Tomaco, near the mouth of the river that faces the isle of Gallo. The Indians near these settlements have some commerce with their neighbouring Spaniards, as some of those on the north coast have; but those that lie at any distance were enemies to them, as those between the river of Cheapo and the gulph of St Michael, those of each side of Port Pines, Cape Corientes, the river of St Iggo: And it is very seldom that any Spanish vessel touches at these parts, the isle Gallo being the only place frequented by them hereabout.

THIS coast, from Point Garashina to Cape Corientes, is a bold coast, with high land to the sea covered with woods, having a few small rivers, but scarce a good port besides Pines, which is also far from extraordinary. From Cape Corientes to Cape St Francisco is all very low land to the sea, and shole water affording good anchoring in oar on sand; and this tract is full of large rivers, but not deep. These rivers are very rich in gold falling from high mountains, which are continued in a ridge at 16, 18, or 20 leagues distant from the sea, and visible from thence as far as Zuisco, and from thence along the main body of South America. The wild Indians who dwelt along the shore, and between these rivers, are exceeding savage, (as those of the river Darien are also said to be), and the Spaniards dread them very much: And this country is also covered with woods, as well as the high coast to the northward of it. Notwithstanding the fierceness of these Indians, and the terror they strike into the Spaniards, (whose cruel usage of their neighbours they seem to know and resent), I think it would be no difficult matter to won them to a correspondence by fair and prudent means, and to establish a commerce with them.

2. GENTLEMEN, The other Querie is concerning the isthmus of Darien, What convenience of settlement is there: What Ports, &c.?

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I suppose, Gentlemen, your inquiry is chiefly with reference to the north coast; and, as to that, I answer briefly, that, from Portobell eastward to the place where the city of Nombre de Dios formerly stood, which is over against the isles Bastementos, the country is under the Spaniards. But the Indians of that part have their plantations very scattering; and, some distance from the shore, the free Indians, who are continued from thence further eastward, have their plantations more close together, so as to make little villages for mutual defence, having generally, for that purpose, a war-house in such villages. But neither do these settle very near the shore, though they often come down thither from the ground plat of Nombre de Dios to Point Samballas, which is a pretty remarkable Promontory, because the shore from thence bends more to the southward. It is generally a high woody coast, with no river or creek of note, but only Port Scrivan, which goes pretty far within the land, and is a good harbour, but hath a bad entrance, having several rocks on each side of the channel, especially on the east side, and not above eight or nine feet water, but deeper further in. The opening at the entrance is scarce a furlong over; and the two points that make it are very capable of being fortified, as in the land about the foot of the harbour, which is also very fruitful for plantations, and hath good fresh water. The land about this port is low for two or three miles, free from swamps and mangroves, unless a little to the westward.

FROM Point Samballas the land to the sea is pretty low, and very fruitful, rising up leisurely to the main ridge Hills, which runs the length of the isthmus, and in a manner parallel with the shore, at some few miles distant. At the mouth of some of the rivers (which here are more numerous, but small and shallow,) the ground is mangrovy and swampy, with extraordinary large and stately timber trees, which over-run the whole coast like a continued forest; and this tract, with neighbouring islands, affords a very delectable prospect at sea. These islands are called the Samballas, many in number, but small, and of unequal bigness, and scattered in a range of a considerable length along the shore for a mile or two from it. They lie in clusters, having their length divided in two or three places by navigable channells, which afford so many entrances into the long channell or road, which is made by the whole range of islands and the adjacent continent, and affords excellent riding for any number of ships. There is every where good anchorage, and islands which are all low and flat, guarded in the outside toward the main ocean with a long ryff of rocks at small distance; and these islands afford very good water upon digging, and are plentifully stored with variety of fruit trees, as spadilloes, manuees, &c. beside timber trees, and others, the soil being rich. Small vessels may pass almost any of the islands; but the channells that cross the range admit of large ships, though not these entrances at each end of the long channell, being more shoallie.

FROM the end of the Samballas, a few leagues further eastward, lyes the isle of Pines, the shore between being much the same as that opposite to the Samballas, but only that it is rocky, and guarded with a ryff of rocks off at sea, which hindered any person from coming near to it.

THE isle of Pines is a high land, affording good trees and water, and hath good anchoring on the south side, with a fair sandy bay to land at. Near its eastermost part lyes Golden Island, much smaller than the other, and a fair deep channell lyes between: It is a good champion levell island, moderately raised from the sea by a gentle ascent from the landing place, which is a sandy bay on the south side; but the rest of the shore is a rocky precipice, quite round and inaccessible, so that a good fortification in the island would at once command the landing place and the road before it, which is a very good one in all respects, and is land locked by the island, and the two points of the neighbouring shore of the isthmus, which opens here into a bay. The very cod of this bay is shallow, and the land by it is swampy; but on each side there is a good land, and good going on shore; and the mouth which faces Golden Isle is deep, and of a good bottom near the eastern point of it, which is not above three or four furlongs distant from Golden Island; and there is a rivulet of very good water. This Golden Isle is without comparifon the best place on all this side of the isthmus whereon to make a fortrefs to secure a trade or a passage over land.

EAST of this, doubling the promontory, you enter the wide mouth of the river of Darien: But the deep is not answerable to the entrance, though it is deep enough further on. The shore is still much the same, and the land within very rich and fruitful; but hath no harbours beside Carret-bay, which is by report indifferent good; for I have not been there, nor on the coast on the east side of the river.

THE land of the isthmus in general is very good, with variety of hills and valleys, watered with rivers, and covered with perpetual woods.

THE South Sea coast of the isthmus hath no port between the river of Cheapo (so far as which the Spaniards come), and the Gulph of St Michael; yet there is very good riding all along the shore, and in general in most parts of the Bay of Panama. The shore here in the main is pretty high, with some small rivers that are shallow, and have their outletts in drowned mangrove land.

IT is all low land about the Gulph of St Michael for a great way up the country; and there are many large and deep rivers fall into it. The Spaniards are settled on the middlemost of these: But Congo river on the north side of the Gulph, and that of Sambo on the south, are possessed by the wild Indians; and among some of these, or in the country more to the southward, we should settle, if we would have a port on the South Sea coast, to answer Golden Island for the security of a passage.

B O O K VII.

DISPUTE in Parliament concerning a Standing Army.—New Parliament.—Army disbanded.—Dutch Guards dismissed.—Agitation of the King's mind.—He intends to put the Government into Commission.—Anecdotes.—Difference with Ireland.—Fate of Sir John Fenwick.—Impeachment of foreign Weavers.

A. D. 1698. 1699.

WHILE the King's mind was distracted by the passions of his English and Dutch subjects urging him against the Darien Company of Scotland, he suddenly felt the passions of his English subjects turned against himself. Peace, which gives rest to other nations, gives none to England: For, in a country in which the monarchical and popular parts of the constitution are under continual suspicions of each other, internal dissension, which is sometimes, though not always, suspended by foreign war, returns with redoubled keenness on the return of peace.

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WHEN the King informed Parliament of the peace of Ryswic, he had added these words in his speech: "The circumstances of affairs abroad are such, that I think myself obliged to tell you my opinion, that England cannot be safe without a land-force; and I hope we shall not give those who mean us ill the opportunity of effecting that, under the notion of a peace, which they could not bring to pass by a war." There is a fashion in opinions as in other things: The opinion of England in that age, and in general it is a just one, was, that slavery followed a standing army, as surely as the shadow follows the body. People remembered, or heard from others, the attempt of Charles I. and the success of Cromwell, to destroy the constitution by means of an army; the views of Charles II. and of his successor, to compass the same end by the same engine, the one in Ireland, the other in England; and they remarked, that almost all the nations around had, one after the other, lost their liberties by the power which standing armies conferred upon princes. On the other hand, the King's party, and above all the King himself, argued, "That Louis XIV. by keeping up his army after the peace of Nimeguen, when his

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Parliament
concerning
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“ enemies disbanded theirs, had enabled himself to infringe that peace
 “ with impunity; that he was following the very same policy now, by
 “ keeping up one half of his army; that the greatness of armies
 “ in every country of Europe, unknown in all former times, shewed
 “ the wisdom, and the dangers to which the new government was exposed
 “ from the avowed threatnings of many to destroy it, shewed the necessity,
 “ of keeping on foot a larger proportion of troops than England had been
 “ accustomed to, as a defence against foes both foreign and domestic.”
 And, throwing their eyes towards Germany and France, they pointed out
 the strong fortifications which Louis was erecting at New Brisac, in place
 of those which he had given up at Old Brisac, and a great encampment,
 which he was at that very time forming at Compiègne, with his usual pa-
 rading vanity, to teach (as he said) the art of war to his young grandson,
 the Duke of Burgundy. But there was a third class of men in the nation,
 who, with deeper views than either, maintained, “ that instead of armies
 “ by profession, fighting for pay, for whoever gave it, and no longer than
 “ they got it, England could defend herself both from foreign and domestic
 “ dangers, by a militia of her own people regularly trained, and which had
 “ much interest to defend, and none to attack liberties that were their own.”

BUT while some trifled on proposals to raise a partial militia, and by lot,
 and to allow those on whom the lot fell a privilege to buy themselves
 off, and to substitute others in their places; as if the exemption from
 serving our country could be called a privilege: Mr Fletcher of Sal-
 ton, in a publication, intitled, “ A discourse on national militias,” which
 is one of the finest compositions in the English language, contended for a
 general militia, in which every individual in the nation, with very few ex-
 ceptions, should regularly take his turn in service, and which should be
 composed of great bodies of infantry, cavalry, and artillery; kept in con-
 tinual exercise, in moving camps, and those fortified by themselves; and
 accustomed to form, to attack, and to defend strong places. In such a
 camp, said he, with that variety and fine pathos of sound which nature
 always causes to flow from high sentiment. “ In such a camp, the youth
 “ would not only be taught the exercise of a musket, with a few evolu-
 “ tions, which is all that men in ordinary militias pretend to, and is the
 “ least part of the duty of a soldier; but, besides, a great many exercises
 “ to strengthen and dispose the body for fight; they would learn to fence,
 “ to ride, and manage a horse for the war; to forage and live in a camp;

“ to fortify, attack, and defend any place; and what is no less necessary,
 “ to undergo the greatest toils, and to give obedience to the severest or-
 “ ders. Such a militia, by sending beyond seas certain proportions of it,
 “ and relieving them from time to time, would enable us to assist our al-
 “ lies more powerfully than by standing armies we could ever do. Such
 “ a camp would be as great a school of virtue as of military discipline; in
 “ which the youth would learn to stand in need of few things, to be con-
 “ tented with that small allowance which nature requires; to suffer, as
 “ well as to act; to be modest, as well as brave; to be as much ashamed
 “ of doing any thing insolent or injurious, as of turning their back upon
 “ an enemy; they would learn to forgive injuries done to themselves,
 “ but to embrace, with joy, the occasions of dying to revenge those
 “ done to their country: and virtue, imbibed in younger years, would
 “ cast a flavour to the utmost periods of life. In a word, they would
 “ learn greater and better things than the military art, and more ne-
 “ cessary too, if any thing can be more necessary than the defence of
 “ our country. Such a militia might not only defend a people living
 “ in an island, but even such as are placed in the midst of the most war-
 “ like nations of the world.”

HEATED, therefore, by those popular, but generous and sublime opinions, the House of Commons, instead of complying with the recommendation in favour of a land-force, contained in the King's speech, came to a resolution* to disband all the forces raised since the year 1680; which would have reduced the army to seven thousand men, at a time when France kept up above twenty-five times the number. But, to soften the measure, they added L. 100,000 a-year to the King's civil list; a gift which had the air of an indignity to a soldier, because it seemed to be the price of taking from him his army. But Parliament not having timously enough provided supplies for disbanding the army during the session, the King took advantage of the disorders in the coin and in public credit, which were not then perfectly cured, to keep up his army during the recess, under pretence that there was not money enough to pay it off. And he was the rather encouraged to persevere in this measure, because by the act for triennial Parliaments, he was obliged to dissolve the present Parliament; and hoped that the next might pay more attention to his opinions, and their own interest.

* Commons Journals, 11th December 1697.

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New Parlia-
ment, and ar-
my disbanded.

1699.

BUT as it is an observation confirmed by experience, That a Parliament dissolved during a torrent of any popular opinion, is always succeeded by one in which that torrent is increased, which gave occasion for Charles II. in harsher terms to say, that a bad Parliament was always succeeded by a worse; so the first step which the new House of Commons, assembled in the winter of the year 1699, took, was to resolve to disband all the troops in England except 7000, and in Ireland except 12,000. It was added, "That the troops which remained should consist, both officers and men, of natural-born subjects." By this addition to the resolution it was therefore provided, that the Prince's guards, the companions of all his glories and hazards, and the regiments of French Protestant refugees, singularly attached to him for the protection which he had given them in a strange land when driven from their own; and both of whom, making together about 5000 men, had accompanied him to England in the cause of the Revolution, should be dismissed. Yet he kept his temper, and when he passed the bill on the 1st of February, went himself to the House of Lords, and, with the usual simplicity and openness of his manner, made the following wise and generous speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I am come to pass the bill *for disbanding the army*, as soon as I understood it was ready for me.

"THOUGH in our present circumstances there appears great hazard in breaking such a number of the troops; and though I might think myself unkindly used, that those guards who came over with me to your assistance, and have constantly attended me in all the actions wherein I have been engaged, should be removed from me; yet it is my fixed opinion, that nothing can be so fatal to us, as that any distrust or jealousy should arise between me and my people, which I must own would have been very unexpected, after what I have undertaken, ventured, and acted for the restoring and securing of their liberties.

"I have thus plainly told you the only reason which has induced me to pass this bill; and now I think myself obliged, in discharge of the trust reposed in me, and for my own justification, that no ill consequences may lie at my door, to tell you as plainly my judgement, that the nation is left too much exposed.

“ IT is therefore incumbent upon you to take this matter into your serious consideration, and effectually to provide such a strength as is necessary for the safety of the kingdom, and the preservation of the peace which God has given us.”

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THE Houses answered the speech with addresses, in which, in affected terms of gratitude exactly proportioned to their want of it, they declined complying with his request. The King gave immediate orders for complying with their resolutions.

BUT when the time approached when his guards were to take their leave of him, all the tenderness of mind of a fellow-soldier returned, and he made another attempt to work on the feelings of the nation; deeming it impossible, that persons whose religion and liberties he had saved, could be so inattentive to his honour in the eyes of Europe, and to those guards who had so often defended his life in battle, as to expel them from England with marks of suspicion and disgrace; and therefore he wrote the following message with his own hand, and sent it by Lord Ranelagh, paymaster of the forces, to the Commons.

Dutch
guards dis-
missed.

“ HIS Majesty is pleased to let the House know, that the necessary preparations are made for transporting the guards who came with him into England; and that he intends to send them away immediately, unless, out of consideration to him, the House be disposed to find a way for continuing them longer in his service, which his Majesty would take very kindly.” But the Commons stood firm to their purpose, and the foreign troops were shipped off.

UPON this occasion, once, and but once in his life, William lost his temper in government. A well-vouched tradition relates, that when the account of the refusal of the Commons, to pay respect to his last message, was brought to him, he walked some time silent through the room, with his eyes fixed on the ground, then stopped, threw them around with wildness, and said, “ If I had a son, by God these guards should not quit me.” It is certain from one of his letters to Lord Galway, that four days before he passed the bill for disbanding the army, he intended to have sent the foreign regiments to Ireland, notwithstanding the resolution of the Commons, that none but natural subjects should serve

Agitation of
the King's

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He intends to
put the go-
vernment in-
to commif-
sion.

there. The words are, "I design also when the Parliament rises, to send
 " you your regiment of horse, and the three French regiments, and per-
 " haps Miramont's dragoons; but that must be very secret, though I
 " much fear my design is already suspected here." Other passages of his
 letters to the same person prove the depth of his resentment. In one of
 them he says, "It is not to be conceived how people here are set against
 " the foreigners. You will easily judge on whom this reflects. There is
 " a spirit of ignorance and malice prevails here beyond conception. Be
 " always assured of my friendship." And another contains these words:
 "I have not writ to you all this winter, by reason of my vexation at what
 " passed in the Parliament, and because of the uncertainty I was under to
 " know what to send you. It is not possible to be more sensibly touched
 " than I am, at my not being able to do more for the poor refugee offi-
 " cers, who have served me with so much zeal and fidelity. I am afraid
 " the good God will punish the ingratitude of this nation. Assuredly, on
 " all sides, my patience is put to the trial. I am going to breathe a little
 " beyond sea, in order to come back as soon as possible *". But above
 all, the evidence is preserved, that at that time he formed an intention to
 suspend the enjoyment of a crown which he thought was dishonoured on
 his head, to put the government of England into hands named by Parlia-
 ment, and to retire to Holland, where he knew that love, gratitude, and
 honour awaited him; and that he actually wrote a speech to Parliament for
 that purpose. I transcribe it at length, because the disorder of his mind is
 well marked by the indignant sentiments it contains; and by the involution
 of period labouring to make its purpose more and more clear, in which it
 is expressed. "I came to this kingdom, at the desire of this nation, to
 " save it from ruin, and to preserve your religion, your laws, and liber-
 " ties; and for that end I have been obliged to maintain a long and bur-
 " densome war for this kingdom; which, by the grace of God, and the
 " bravery of this nation, is at present ended in a good peace, under which
 " you may live happily and in quiet, provided you will contribute to your
 " own security, in the manner I had recommended to you at the opening
 " of the sessions. But seeing, to the contrary, that you have so little re-
 " gard to my advice, and that you take no manner of care of your own
 " security, and that you expose yourselves to evident ruin, by divesting
 " yourselves of the only means for your defence; it would not be just nor
 " reasonable, that I should be witness of your ruin, not being able to do

* Tyndal, pages 289, and 292.

“ any thing of myself, it not being in my power to defend and protect
“ you, which was the only view I had in coming into this country. There-
“ fore I am obliged to recommend to you, to chuse and name to me such
“ persons as you shall judge most proper, to whom I may leave the admi-
“ nistration of the government in my absence; assuring you, that, though
“ I am at present forced to withdraw myself out of the kingdom, I shall
“ always preserve the same inclination to its advantages and prosperity.
“ And when I can judge that my presence will be necessary for your de-
“ fence, I shall be ready to return and hazard myself for your security, as
“ I have formerly done; beseeching the great God to bless your delibe-
“ rations, and to inspire you with all that is necessary for the good and
“ welfare of the kingdom*.”

PERHAPS, on this occasion his pain was not lessened by the reflection
that his Scottish subjects, to whose interests he had shewn so cruel a disre-
gard in the affair of Darien, gave him that generous credit which his Eng-
lish subjects, to please whom they were sacrificed, refused him; and dis-
banded none of their army. What many of his English subjects felt for
his distress, may perhaps be guessed, if men's feelings can be guessed by
their conversations, from an anecdote reported of Lord Sunderland, who,
tired with the treachery of the world and his own, was then retired to the
country, as he thought for ever, from business: for, having been told that
the King threatened to throw up the crown, “ Does he so?” (said Sunder-
land); “ There is Tom of Pembroke,” (meaning the Earl of Pembroke),
“ who is as good a block of wood as a King can be cut out of: *We* will
“ send for *him*, and make *him* our King.”

Anecdotes.

IN cold countries, in which the mind freezes when the body freezes,
men of parts are generally lovers of wine. King William at his private par-
ties drunk sometimes to excess. Perhaps the two following anecdotes,
which the late Mr Stone told me he had from the Duke of Newcastle, may
refer to a period, when his mind, wasted with vexation, might recruit it-
self with wine. In one of his parties with Lord Wharton, whom he al-

* The publication of many of King James's papers by Mr M^rPherson, vindicate the
memory of King William in those sallies of passion. It was not unknown to him, that
Lord Marlborough's view in the year 1692, in attempting to get his guards removed by
Parliament, was to rob him of his crown. Vide book 1st of this volume, and authori-
ties referred to.

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ways called Thom Wharton, he said, "Thom, I know what you wish for, " you wish for a republic." Lord Wharton answered, "and not a bad " thing, Sir, neither." "No, no," said the King, "I shall disappoint " you there, I will bring over King James's son upon you." Lord Wharton making a very affected low bow, said, with a sneer, "That is as your " Majesty pleases." Yet the King took neither the manner nor the answer amiss. — At another time, having invited the Earl of Pembroke to one of his parties, he was told that the Earl was quarrelsome in his cups: He laughed, and said, he would defy any man to quarrel with him, as long as he could make the bottle go round. What was foretold however happened; and Lord Pembroke was carried from the room and put to bed. When told next morning what he had done, he hastened to the palace, and threw himself upon his knee; "No apologies," said the King; "I " was told you had no fault in the world but one, and I am glad to find " it is true, for I do not like your faultless people." Then taking him by the hand, added, "Make not yourself uneasy: these accidents over a " bottle are nothing among friends."

Difference
with Ireland.

WHILE these temporary differences between the King and his people were continuing in England, the seeds of a more lasting difference were sowing in Ireland. Mr Molineux, an Irish gentleman of genius and spirit, had published a book, in which he asserted the right of the people of Ireland not to be regulated by the acts of an English Parliament: Complaint was made of it in the House of Commons in England. Another complaint was made there, that the Irish were encouraging their woollen manufactures, which would interfere with those of England. The jealousy of empire mingling itself with the jealousy of trade, the Commons presented two addresses to the King, one against the book of Mr Molineux, and the other for increasing the linen, but discouraging the woollen manufacture of Ireland. To the last of these addresses, the King's answer was, "That he " would take care, that what was complained of might be prevented and " redressed, as the Commons desired." The indignation of the Irish against the English on account of these proceedings, was increased by their observing the want of spirit of their own House of Commons, who, in an answer to a speech from the Lords Justices to promote the views of England with regard to her manufactures, said, "We shall heartily endeavour " to establish the linen manufacture, and to render the same useful to Eng-

“ land, as well as advantageous to this kingdom. And we hope to find
 “ such a temperament with respect to the woollen trade here, that the same
 “ may not be injurious to England.”

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BUT the French, under affected pity for Scotland, Ireland, and the King, indulged in their usual habits of inveighing against the intolerant spirit of the English, “ who,” they said, “ had alienated from them the minds of
 “ the Scots, by the oppression of Darien; of the Irish, by treating them
 “ like slaves, even whose modes of employment they prescribed; and of
 “ their sovereign, whom they had not treated like a gentleman.”

BEFORE the peace of Ryfwic was concluded, and consequently before the remembrance of past injuries could be lost in it, the unfortunate Major General Sir John Fenwick, who had fled beyond seas the year before, when a proclamation was issued to seize him as accessory to the intended invasion, but who had lately returned, was taken prisoner in England. In order to save his life, he sent to the Duke of Devonshire, to be transmitted by him to the King a written account of the negotiations of many of his subjects of distinction with King James; and particularly of the Lords Shrewsbury, Godolphin, and Marlborough, and Admiral Ruffel. Lord Devonshire, in his own letter, which transmitted it, paying a compliment to the King's usual policy of overlooking, or pretending not to see offences against himself, used the following words*: “ All I can say is, that whe-
 “ ther your Majesty gives no credit at all to that report in this paper; or
 “ if you do, and, in consideration of the difference of times, would have
 “ no notice taken of it, some of them being in places of the highest trust,
 “ and in all appearance very firm to your interest now; I humbly beg
 “ leave to assure your Majesty, that whatever part of this paper you would
 “ have kept secret, shall remain so inviolably for me.” Whether the King believed the information or not, is not certainly known. It is probable that he did; for he knew the secret intrigues against him from other hands, as appears from the following part of Sir John Fenwick's speech on the scaffold, a part in which he could have no temptation to contrive a lie.
 “ Lord Devonshire told me when I read the papers to him, that the Prince
 “ of Orange had been acquainted with most of those things before.” And

Fate of Sir
 John Fen-
 wick.

* Appendix to former vol. of these Memoirs, part 2. p. 230.

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one of the King's speeches afterwards to Parliament contains the following generous words. "I should think it as great a blessing as could befall England, if I could observe you as much inclined to lay aside those unhappy fatal animosities, which divide and weaken you, as I am disposed to make all my subjects *safe and easy, as to any, even the highest offences, committed against me.*" But whatever be in this, the King pretended not to believe the information, gave it to those whom it accused, and ordered Fenwick to be brought to his trial. The consequence, and probably foreseen by the King, was, that the persons accused finding their secrets so ill kept*, corresponded no more with St Germain's during the course of his reign.

THERE was only one evidence against Fenwick, and therefore he could not be convicted in a court of law, which required two. But the persons whom he had accused, believing that they could not be safe as long as he lived, bethought themselves of reaching him under the discretionary power of Parliament; and therefore Admiral Ruffel laid his confession before the House of Commons, under the pretence of clearing his own character, but in reality with a view that it might be made the foundation of an act of attainder. Fenwick was brought to the bar of the House, and required to confess all he knew: but, ashamed to do in public what he had not scrupled to do in private, he refused. All those who, or whose friends were most guilty, then rose one after the other, and insisted, with clamour, that he should name the guilty persons; either perceiving from his manner that he would not, or conscious that from their own numbers they were safe†. Upon his refusal, a bill of attainder was brought in against him. The base witness Porter, who, in the trials for the assassination, had turned evidence against those friends whose permission he had solicited to strike the first blow at the King's life, was prevailed with to hide persons behind a curtain, to overhear and prove an offer of Lady Fenwick, sister to the Earl of Carlisle, to bribe him to suppress his evidence by retiring to foreign parts; and this attempt of a wife to save her husband's life from danger, was turned into an evidence of his guilt. An examination taken by a secretary of state of one Goodman, who had absconded, was permitted to be read in evidence against Fenwick, when the witness did not ap-

* M'Pherson's State Papers, vol. i. p. 257.

† Journals of House of Commons.

pear, though the law required the witness himself to be confronted with the prisoner, and to be seen and examined in court. And from the mere circumstance of Goodman's absconding, though it was not proved by whose persuasion he did so, the guilt of the prisoner was inferred. Evidence was transferred from the records of former trials, and made part of this one. His endeavours to delay his trial, were allowed to be proved as a circumstance to show his consciousness of his deserving the punishment that it would bring upon him. Nay, the evidence of the jury was admitted to prove the circumstances which had induced them to find their bill of indictment. Even Fenwick's accusation of his accusers, which is now known to have been in all points true, was, according to the continual art of those who surround the throne to represent their own enemies as enemies to it, made a criminal charge against him, in the following words of the bill: "As meant by false and scandalous informations to undermine the government, and to create jealousies between the King and his subjects*."

IN vain Fenwick's counsel argued "on the danger of a precedent, which employed the whole force of Parliament to take away the life of a man whom the laws of his country could not condemn; those laws of treason into which Parliament, with so much honour to themselves, had so lately thrown justice and mercy." The bill passed; because those who were not connected with the late King hated the traitor, and those who were, feared him; yet not without long and well disputed opposition; for, the bill passed the Commons by a vote of an hundred and eighty-nine, to an hundred and fifty six; and in the other House there was only a majority of seven. It had been proposed in the House of Commons, that "the Lords Spiritual" should not stand in the enacting clause of the bill, from delicacy to the bishops in cases of blood. But Burnet shewed how needless that scruple was with regard to one of them at least, by a long speech †, in which he exhausted all the chicanery of the law, and all the hypocrisy of the church, to vindicate proceedings, which exceeded the injustice of the worst precedents in the worst times of Charles II. and his successor. But by a mixture of vanity and shame, although he inserted the speech in his history, he did not avow that he was the person who made it. Fenwick, whose mind was raised by the support which his cause had got

* Fenwick's trial.

† Tindal.

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in Parliament, died with the fortitude of his profession. In his speech on the scaffold, he gave his thanks to those who had opposed the bill; and added these words: "God bless them and their posterity; though I am fully satisfied they pleaded their own cause when they defended mine."

THE King was blamed for signing the warrant for execution; and his enemies, and even King James*, imputed it to a private pique against Fenwick, for some indiscreet reflections on William's conduct in an action in Flanders. But the posterity of those times will now judge, whether the following be, or be not good apologies for the King: That Fenwick acknowledged he had been engaged in a train of negotiations for several years to dethrone him, and even knew of an intention to assassinate him, yet had neither prevented it, nor put him on his guard against it; and that it was become impossible for the King to pardon him, without an implication of the guilt of those whom he accused.

Foreign
weavers im-
peached.

SOME time after, the House of Commons impeached ten foreign weavers and smugglers, for carrying on a smuggling trade with France, to the prejudice of the Lutestring Company of London; in the conduct of which they were very near getting into a quarrel with the House of Peers, whether they should stand, or be permitted to have seats, in attending the trial. At last, the trial was conducted in Westminster Hall, with all the apparatus which had attended that of King Charles. And then from the King, the complaints of the public fell upon Parliament: For, the uncertainty of proceedings was remarked, which had not impeached Sir John Trevor, whose guilt was not denied; had impeached the Duke of Leeds, whose guilt was only suspected; had acquitted Mr Duncombe, whose crime, of the same evil tendency, but of far greater magnitude than theirs, was proved, and had been confessed; had taken away the life of Sir John Fenwick without evidence or law; and had debased themselves, by the arraignment of some miserable foreign mechanics.

BUT from those internal commotions and complaints, to which every King and Parliament of England must submit, the attention of William was soon called to objects far more interesting to mankind, of which an account will be given in the next book.

* King James's Memoirs.

B O O K VIII.

*FIRST Partition Treaty, and First Will of King of Spain.—
 Second Partition Treaty, and Second Will.—Third Will,
 and Death of King of Spain.—Louis accepts the Will.—
 Reflections on the Partition Treaties.—Act of Resumption.—
 The English Fleet bombards Copenhagen, and saves Sweden.
 —Note. Lord Somers's Letter to King William, about the
 First Partition Treaty.*

Anno 1699, 1700.

LOUIS the Fourteenth had been impelled to wish for the peace of
 Ryfwic, not by the necessities of his kingdom alone, but by his
 own views to the King of Spain's succession, who was then drawing fast
 to his end, and without issue. The Princes who might pretend to this
 succession, were, 1st. the Dauphin of France, nearest in blood, because
 he was the Son of Maria Terefia his eldest sister. 2^d, The Electoral
 Prince of Bavaria, who was grandson to Margaret Terefia his younger
 sister: The ground on which the Electoral Prince's title of preference
 to the Dauphin stood, was the renunciation of the Spanish succession
 by the Dauphin's mother, with consent of her husband Louis the 14th.
 3^d, The Emperor Leopold, son of Mary Ann younger sister of Philip
 the Fourth of Spain, whose eldest sister Ann Mary Mauricia had been
 married to the father of Louis the 14th, but which Princess had also in
 her contract of marriage, with consent of her husband, renounced right

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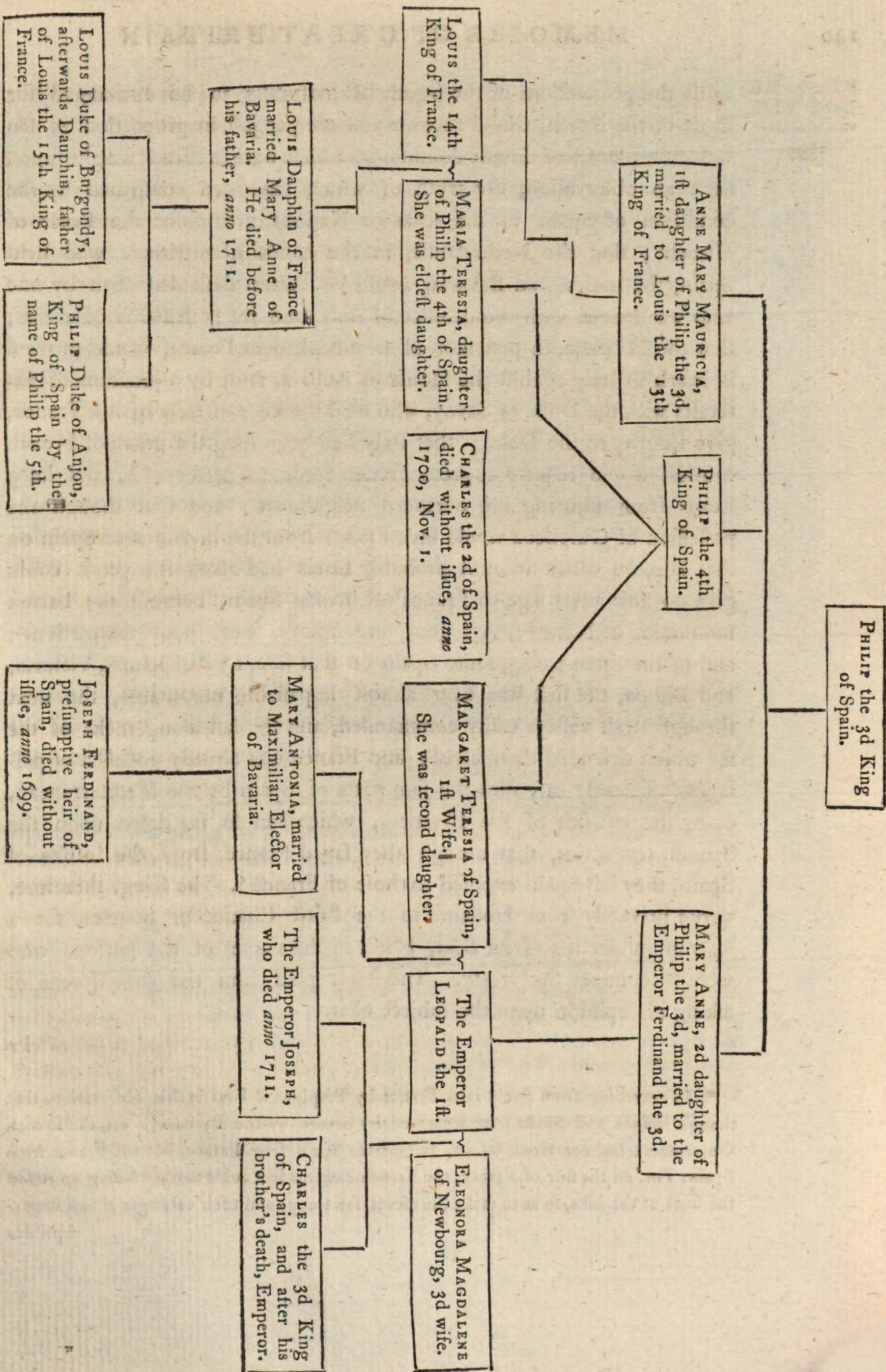
First Parti-
 tion Treaty.

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to the Spanish succession. The Genealogical Tree is contained in the opposite page; and from thence it appears, that the title of the Emperor, in the competition, was by far the worst, and that of the Dauphin the best founded. But, at this time, Louis the 14th could not well expect a succession for his Son, from a right which the father and mother, grandfather and grandmother of that Son, had renounced; nor from the will of Charles the Second, whom Louis, though his brother-in-law, had long injured and insulted. His best chance, therefore, of getting even part of the Spanish succession for his Son, was first to obtain a peace with Spain, and with his enemies and his rivals; and then, in a Treaty, to prevail upon those rivals to divide the succession with the Dauphin, or with those enemies to force them to do so, because it was against the interest of other Powers that the whole succession should be thrown undivided into the scale either of the House of Bourbon or Austria, who were the most likely to assert it by force of arms, as they only had the strength to make their claim good in that way. The Prince on whom Louis cast his eyes to effectuate those purposes, was the King of England, whose influence was greater than that of any other Power, and who had a personal, as well as a political interest, both for his own sake, and the sakes of Holland and England, to preserve an equal balance among the great Nations of Europe; and therefore, he took advantage of Lord Portland's embassy of compliment to Paris, to propose a partition of the Spanish succession, in which the Elector of Bavaria's son should hold Spain, the Netherlands, and the Indies; the Milanese should go, not to the Emperor, but to his second son the Archduke Charles, in order to prevent the power of Germany and of Italy from being united under one head; and that the rest of the Spanish dominions in Italy, the small Tuscan Islands, the Marquisate of Final, and the small province of Guipiscoa in Spain, should be the portion of the Dauphin.

KING WILLIAM, who singly saw through business, much better than Louis with all his courtiers and counsellors, perceived that Spain, the Netherlands, and the Indies, thrown into the hands of the Family of Bavaria, could add no new weight either to the Houses of Austria or Bourbon; that Spain, the natural friend, not the rival of England, be-
cause



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cause the productions of the South fall naturally to be exchanged for those of the North, would recover and prosper just in proportion as she was disburdened of distant dominions, which were a dead weight upon her; an observation, the truth of which has been confirmed by the condition of Spain in the scale of Nations ever since the Peace of Utrecht; that the Netherlands, in the hands of a Prince who held Spain, the Indies, and Bavaria, would be better defended than by one who was loaded with the defence of Italy, and yet possessed not Bavaria; that the Milanese, in possession of an independent Prince, would prove a bulwark to Italy against the House of Austria, and, by a junction of interests with the Duke of Savoy, who held the keys of Italy against France, give security to the Duke; that Italy had been long the grave of French armies, would require a great French force to preserve it, and keep Louis from injuring his northern neighbours; and that though the possession of Guipiscoa would save France from the invasions of Spain on that side, on which account probably Louis had asked it; yet it could give no new advantage to France to invade Spain, because the barren mountains of Navarre, Arragon, and Biscay, were poor temptations; and of the three passages into Spain on that side, by Pampeluna, Victoria, and Bilboa, the first was over almost impassable mountains, the next through strait valleys easily commanded, and the last along rocks of the sea which defended themselves; and France was already possessed of passages sufficiently easy into the fine parts of Spain by the Mediterranean, or by the east side of the Pyrenees, which run so far down upon the Spanish territories, that though they saved France from the insults of Spain, they left Spain exposed to those of France*. The King, therefore, wrote privately from Holland to the Lord Chancellor Somers, for a warrant under the Great Seal, blank in the names of the persons who were to conduct the treaty. The letter paid him the compliment of asking his opinion upon the subject of it.

IT

* In travelling from Spain into France by Perpignan, I made this observation, that though France and Spain were separated by nature by the Pyrenees, yet the French Government had contrived, by art, to separate Spain from France, but not France from Spain: For, on the side of France, the French have made a noble road, winding up round the sides of the hills, so as to make the ascent for troops and their carriages almost imperceptible;

It is one of the prices which Nations governed by law, and not by the will of the Sovereign, pay for their liberties, that their Councils are much directed by the Great Officers of the Law, who are sometimes mean men, got up by mean arts; and are generally unfit by their habits and studies, for the great lines of war and politics, because the division of professions in modern times, prevents the same man from performing, as in ancient Rome, the duty of a General and of a Consul, as well as of a Prætor in a Court of Justice. Lord Somers, therefore, though endued with great public and private virtue, and superiority of knowledge above all others in his own line of life, after consulting with a few of the other Ministers, wrote a letter to the King, in which he displayed all the ingenuity of his profession in starting difficulties. With the ideas of a merchant, he objected, that the possession of Sicily would give the command of the English Levant trade, to France: Although it be obvious, that the ports of Sicily lie towards Italy, not towards Afric, and consequently not in the passage of English ships to the Levant; and that the possession of Sicily and Naples by France would rather have proved a bridle upon her, because an English squadron could at any time have laid all the ports of Sicily and Naples, and the metropolis and palace of a King of Naples, in ashes. He added, that the shutting out the Milanese from the harbours of Italy would rob them of their trade, though it does not appear that England had much interest

ceptible; and have built a strong fortress called Bellegarde within a few miles of the flat country, from whence they have a spacious view into the richest part of Spain, to animate and encourage troops, as Hannibal's army was by the first sight of Italy, and Xenophon's by the first sight of the sea: and from thence the French have an easy entry into Catalonia and Valentia, with nothing to interrupt them but Figuera, which is commanded by a height, and Barcelona, which is not strongly fortified on the land side, and commanded by the Fort Mounjoy, not difficult to be taken;—whereas if a Spanish army was to attempt an expedition into France, it would be stopped by the fortress I have mentioned, at the first move; and if the fortress was carried, all advance through the Pyrenees into France could be stopped, by blowing up the road in three or four places. Perhaps to this, as much as to the Family Compact, is owing the present dependence of Spain upon France: But, in proportion as France extends her power of offending at land, England should in time of war, by destroying her trade, and seizing her settlements, contract her power of offending at sea.

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interest to take care of the trade of Milan. He then proposed that England should stand neuter, and leave the French King to execute his treaty himself; but with the caution and the puzzle of a Lawyer, he asked what security Louis was to give that he would not take advantage of that neutrality? He complained with the ignorance of one not acquainted with the first science of a Politician the Geography of Nations, that the possession of Guipiscoa would give the French as easy a passage into Spain, as they already had on the side of Catalonia. He suggested, that the King should endeavour to procure from the House of Bavaria, a share of the trade to the Spanish plantations; an article, which, if proposed, must have thrown confusion into the Treaty, because the King could not ask it in private, without infidelity to his Allies, nor in public, without their asking it also; and which if granted to them, would have exposed the Spanish coasts of the South Sea to the depredations and contraband of France, England, Holland, and one-half of the coast of Italy. He informed the King, that the Nation would not engage in a new war; yet objected to the only measure that could prevent it*. It is not to be wondered at, that William did not wait for his Chancellor's answer, but concluded the treaty with France and Holland on the 19th of August, four days after he had asked his advice. Lord Portland in a short time after, formally signed on the part of England.

A secret kept with difficulty by the Ministers, though few in number, of two Kings, was impossible to be kept at all by ten Ministers who signed it of a Republic; and therefore, the secret of the Partition Treaty passed from Holland to Madrid. The feelings of the King of Spain as a man, however weak in understanding and health, were hurt by the freedoms taken with his succession while he yet lived; and his pride as a Monarch, and that of his people, by the dismemberment of the Spanish monarchy: But above all, the interests of the Great who surrounded him, felt themselves affected by the loss of provinces, the governments of which they foresaw would continue no longer to be the appendages of their families: And therefore, Charles the Second made a will, by which he bequeathed the whole Spanish monarchy, undivided, to his grand-

First Will of
the King of
Spain.

* See the Letter at the end of this Book.

grand-nephew the Prince of Bavaria. But as human policy and human will are often defeated by accident, the sudden death of the Prince six months after, stripped him of a succession, to most of which he was destined by the three greatest Powers of Europe, and to the whole by him who had, if any had, the best right to dispose of it.

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KING WILLIAM, however, whose whole life was spent in struggling against the power even of accident, in a few months after, concluded a new Partition Treaty with France and Holland; the articles of which were, That Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands, should fall to the Archduke Charles; the Milanese, to the Emperor's nephew and favourite the Duke of Lorrain, who in return was to cede Bar and Lorrain to Louis the Fourteenth; and the other Italian dominions, together with the province of Guipiscoa, were to be the portion of the Dauphin. In Treaties which depended on moments, because the King of Spain's life depended on a moment, and on secrecy, because his caprices were uncertain, the consent of the Emperor could not be waited for; and therefore, King William took upon himself to obtain it. But selfishness made the Emperor prefer himself, and vanity made him prefer the representative of his House, to the interests of his second son and of his nephew; and his Counsellors, with the flattery common to all Courtiers, and the religious credulity peculiar to the Court of Vienna, had continually in their mouths the common Austrian saying, That the Star of Austria, which had so often protected her, would favour her now*. But their real object was the disposal of governments and employments which they foresaw a German King of Spain would have in his power to bestow upon Germans: And therefore, the use which the Emperor made of the Treaty, when communicated in secrecy to him, was to inform the King of Spain of it; and by means of that Prince's Consort, who was the Emperor's niece, to irritate him a second time against Louis the Fourteenth. Charles the Second made a second will, in which he bequeathed his whole dominions, undivided, to the Archduke; and then the Emperor refused to accede to the Treaty of Partition.

Second Partition Treaty.

Second Will of the King of Spain.

SOON

* Marechal Villars's Memoirs.

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Third Will
and Death of
Charles.

Soon after, the King of Spain grew worse and worse, and, like other dying men, was surrounded by priests and designing persons. Among these last were the Chief Nobility of Spain, who had been disgusted with the access which the King's marriage with a German Princess had given to German Councils and Counsellors to interfere in the affairs of Spain, and who would have been equally disgusted with French Councils and Counsellors if they had had the same access. These joining with the Clergy, persuaded him to ask advice of the Pope; knowing well that the Pope, warned by the fate of his predecessors, would never consent that an Austrian Prince should be Master of Italy. And that Pontif, like all other Pontifs, mingling principles of Conscience with those of State, advised him to revoke the will in favour of the Archduke, and to make a new one in favour of the Family nearest of blood to him; but that the person appointed should not be the eldest son of France, but his brother the Duke of Anjou, in order to prevent the Crowns of France and Spain from being united under one head, or rather to keep the Court of Rome independent of both. Charles followed the advice, and soon after died.

Louis accepts
the Will.

THE situation of Louis was now become delicate: If he rejected the will, he injured his grandson, to whom a great empire was bequeathed; if he accepted, he broke his faith. In the one case, his kingdom would reap the advantage of the possession of Lorraine and Bar, to gain compactness and strength in all future ages: In the other, he would himself receive the immediate advantage of directing the Councils of Spain, ingrossing her trade, and sharing her treasures in the Indies, under the pretence of protecting them. In such a situation, Louis inclined to the feelings of nature, and of immediate advantage. The Emperor's conduct, and a condition in the will, furnished him with a pretence: for the Emperor had refused to accede to the Treaty of Partition; and the will bore a condition, that if the Duke of Anjou did not take the succession, the Archduke Charles might; and if he did not, that the Duke of Savoy might; which put it in the power of Louis to lament that his refusal to receive the will for his grandsons, would only serve the families of other Princes. Yet he ordered the conduct he should

should follow to be debated in Council, in his presence. On the result of a flattering Council, which was to take the blame off him if its opinion proved fatal, and yet left the honour to him if it proved fortunate, depended the fate of some millions of his subjects. In all monarchies, whether absolute or limited, the opinions of Councils flatter those of the King. Louis accepted the will, and thereby signed the death-warrant of those millions. In passing from the Council-room, he said, with a mixture of concern and carelessness, to the Ladies of his Court, who were waiting near it with impatience, 'Whatever I do, I shall be blamed.'

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As the Partition Treaties are, next to the Revolution, the chief features of King William's policy, it is just to his memory, and to the cause of human kind connected with it, to examine their merit. Had those Treaties taken effect, the following consequences would probably have followed:—A few years peace, added to the then parsimony of English Parliaments, and to the terrors which the English then entertained of public debts, would have cleared the seventeen millions and a half of public debt which were due at the Peace of Ryfwic: No new debt could have been contracted by the War of the Succession, because the possibility of that war was removed by the Partition Treaties: The rivers of blood shed in that war would have been saved: The animosities between England and France ever since the war for the succession, so fatal to both, would probably never have existed: America and Ireland might still have remained the dominions of England: And Britain and Ireland, clear of public debt, and not thinned by wars, might have been as rich and populous as Ancient Sicily, or Modern Indostan. Such were the felicities which William had prepared for a people whose liberties and religion he had saved, but who at that very instant were driving his guards from the protection of his person, though it had been twice attempted to be assassinated in the course of two years, and who soon after impeached his Ministers, for risking their heads to promote treaties calculated to cover their impeachers with blessings.

Reflection on
the Partition
Treaties.

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It has been said, that William was the dupe of Louis in the Treaties of Partition, who only made use of them to provoke the King of Spain against his former Allies. But they should rather have provoked him against his brother-in-law, who, besides his present hand in the Treaties, had so far back as the year 1668 *, entered into a similar Treaty for the partition of his dominions, with the Emperor; and had in the year 1693, proposed to the King of England, through the mediation of the Court of Denmark, to secure a part of the Netherlands to the Prince of Bavaria. Men judge too often of measures by their events: Had the undivided succession of Spain gone either to the Prince of Bavaria, or to the Archduke, in consequence either of the first or of the second will of the King of Spain, both of which were made amidst the heat of his provocations, then France would have complained that Louis was the dupe of William, who only made use of him to provoke the brother against the brother-in-law, the uncle against the nephew. But the refinement imputed to the conduct of Louis, is most solidly disproved: for the Memoirs of Monsieur de Torci, who was his Secretary of State at the time, and conducted the negociations, and of Marechal Villars who was his Ambassador at Vienna, prove that the last will of the King of Spain was as great a surprise upon the French Court, as it was upon those of London or Vienna. Far from resenting upon his former Allies the conduct of William, Charles at different times bequeathed his dominions to two of them, and he never thought of passing into the house of an enemy for a successor, until the hour when men generally lose all resentment against others in fears for themselves, and when he was surrounded with priests and designing persons, who, to cover their own interests, rung the calls of nature and of conscience in his ears.

Discontents.

In the course of those Treaties, and for some time before them, discontents against Government had been growing in the people. The chief cause was assigned by Lord Somers in a letter to the King, of date 28th August 1698, in these words: ‘ They seemed to be tired out with taxes, to a degree beyond what was discovered, till it appeared upon the occasion of the late elections.’—But there were other causes: They were

* Marechal Villars’s Memoirs.

were displeased with their Sovereign for residing in Foreign Countries during the intervals of Parliament, when he had no longer the pretence of attending to the war for doing so; with his having kept the army on foot after one Parliament had voted to disband it, and his reluctance to disband it when pressed to do so by another; with the secrecy wherewith the Partition Treaties were conducted, without consulting Parliament, or even the Privy Council; and with the uncertainty and fears which the Treaties themselves created. These discontents soon spread, as they always do, from the people to their representatives; and perhaps were not lessened in many of these last, by the suspicion, that they could never be forgiven by the King for having affronted him in the eyes of all Europe by the dismissal of his guards.

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THE effects of this temper were seen as soon as the Second Session of this Parliament began, in the Winter of the year 1699. The King's foreign had been more attached to him than his English servants, whose wishes were often carried from him by the connections of party. They had also in foreign business, and in the management of the detail of the war, served him more ably, because they were more accustomed to both. But though men of family, they were soldiers of fortune; and the English and Irish peerages, which for a while were the only favours he had to bestow on them, could be of little use to men who for the future were to live in a country in which wealth was more considered than title. In order to shew his gratitude to one of them, he had some years before given Lord Portland a very large grant of Crown lands in the principality of Wales. But the Commons had remonstrated against the grant, both on account of the extent of it, and because there was some doubt in Law whether the lands could be alienated from the principality. The King, who was not obstinate in public partialities to his friends like Charles the First, nor indifferent in private to their fates like Charles the Second, had given, with that simplicity of expression which was habitual to him, the following answer, prudent and candid to the House, just to his friend.

Act of Resumption.

U 2

GENTLEMEN,

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‘ GENTLEMEN,

‘ I have a kindness for my Lord *Portland*, which he has deserved
 ‘ of me by long and faithful services ; but I should not have given him
 ‘ these lands, if I had imagined the House of Commons could have
 ‘ been concerned. I will therefore recal the grant, and find some *other*
 ‘ way of shewing my favour to him.’

THE way which William had in his eye in this answer to show favours, was by grants of forfeited estates in Ireland, which, by the Laws of Treason, were indisputably at his own disposal. But a bill of resumption of the past forfeitures, and to apply them to the payment of public debts, having passed the Commons, the King had prevented its going further, by proroguing the Parliament ; on which occasion he in his speech gave an assurance, ‘ That he would make no grants of
 ‘ forfeited estates till there be another opportunity of settling that matter in Parliament.’ But since that period other opportunities had presented themselves, in other Sessions, and under another Parliament, without his hearing more on the subject. He therefore considered that this promise did not bar him from making such grants ; and accordingly he had lately made several, but chiefly to his foreign servants, the Lords *Portland*, *Albemarle*, *Rochford*, *Gallway*, and *Athlone*, and to his favourite Lady *Orkney* ; and all of these, particularly the first and last, were of large extent, the one being said to contain 136,000 acres, and the other to be worth 25,000 pounds a-year, but both far beyond the truth. The Commons presented an Address against the grants to the King, who marked his chagrin in the following answer :

‘ GENTLEMEN,

‘ I WAS not only led by inclination, but thought myself obliged
 ‘ in justice, to reward those who had served well, and particularly in
 ‘ the reduction of Ireland, out of the estates forfeited to me by the Rebellion there.

‘ THE long war in which we were engaged, did occasion great taxes,
 ‘ and has left the nation much in debt ; and the taking just and effectual

‘ tual ways for lessening that debt, and supporting public credit, is
 ‘ what, in my opinion, will best contribute to the honour, interest and
 ‘ safety of the kingdom.’

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THE Commons, provoked by the King's insinuation of their having neglected their public duty, framed a resolution, ‘ That whoever advised
 ‘ the answer, had endeavoured to create a misunderstanding and jealousy
 ‘ between the King and his subjects.’ Other angry resolutions followed; one of which was, ‘ to address the King, that the procuring or
 ‘ passing exorbitant grants by any Member of the Privy Council, to his
 ‘ use or benefit, was a high crime and misdemeanour.’ They appointed commissioners to enquire into the value of the estates, and to whom given; and upon report made that the estates contained a million and a half of acres, and were worth two millions and a half Sterling, both of which were exaggerated to excess, they framed a Bill to resume them, and apply them to the payment of public debts; and in order to prevent the Bill from being defeated in the House of Lords, they, by a form seldom used, and which very seldom should be used, tacked it to their Bill of Supply; so that the Lords could not refuse the one, without disappointing the other. The Lords, to secure themselves from that insignificance to which the form of the Bill tended to reduce them, disputed in some conferences with the Commons, the form of it with warmth, but the resumption which it contained with indifference. And both Houses, even the Servants of the Crown, gave themselves little trouble to defeat it, partly to gain popularity, but more from national antipathy to foreigners, and envy against gifts in which themselves were no sharers. The King, making allowances for national weaknesses, and for those of human nature, passed the Bill without any complaint in public, but with a generous indignation in private, which perhaps made the blow fall more heavy on his friends, when, in order to soften it, he said to them, that it was for his sake, and not for their own, they were suffering*.

THE

* *Vid.* his Letters to Lord Gallway.

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THE King's known intention to pass the Bill, did not affect the Commons with much gratitude. They resolved upon an Address, 'That no person who was not a native of his dominions, except the Prince of Denmark, be admitted to his Majesty's Councils in England or Ireland;' a resolution which could not fail to remind him, that a similar resolution projected by the Earl of Marlborough in the winter before the battle of La Hogue, had been intended as one of the two moves which was to shake him on his throne†; and therefore he prorogued Parliament on the 11th day of April, before the Address could be presented to him.

Copenhagen
bombarded,
and Sweden
saved.

As soon as Parliament rose, the King sent a squadron of thirty English and Dutch ships of war, under Sir George Rooke, into the Baltic, to protect the young King of Sweden, Charles the XII. whom the Powers of Denmark, Poland, and Muscovy, had at that time combined to overwhelm. Rooke, instead of trifling in his command to relieve or attack places, or to go in quest of the enemy's fleet, struck his blow directly at the capital of Denmark, and bombarded, and stationed his fleet before, Copenhagen. Then appeared the importance of the Empire of the Sea: For, the King of Denmark instantly detached himself from his Allies; and the King of Poland, who was prepared to bombard Riga, desisted, lest he should hurt, as he said, the effects of Dutch and English merchants in the town. It was not clear that William was by treaty obliged to make the exertions which he made, and he had not consulted either Parliament or his Privy Council in forming his resolution: but it was attended with success; it pleased an high-spirited nation; and the King thought the best praise he could receive, was, that no complaints were made in England of what he had done.

† *Vid.* 1st Book, with the authority there quoted.

NOTE

NOTE to Page 142.

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Letter from Lord Somers to King William.

S I R,

HAVING your Majesty's permission to try if the waters would contribute to the re-establishment of my health, I was just got to this place when I had the honour of your commands; I thought the best way of executing them would be to communicate to my Lord Orford, Mr Montague, and the Duke of Shrewsbury (who, before I left London, had agreed upon a meeting about that time) the subject of my Lord Portland's letter, at the same time letting them know how strictly your Majesty required that it should remain an absolute secret.

Since that time Mr Montague and Mr Secretary are come down hither, and upon the whole discourse, three things have principally occurred, to be humbly suggested to your Majesty.

1st, That the entertaining a proposal of this nature seems to be attended with very many ill consequences, if the French did not act a sincere part; but we were soon at ease, as to any apprehension of this sort, being fully assured your Majesty would not act but with the utmost nicety, in an affair wherein the glory and safety of Europe were so highly concerned.

The 2^d thing considered was the very ill prospect of what was like to happen upon the death of the King of Spain, in case nothing was done previously towards the providing against that accident, which seemed probably to be very near: The King of France having so great a force in such a readiness, that he was in a condition to take possession of Spain, before any other Prince could be able to make a stand. Your Majesty is the best judge whether this be the case, who are so perfectly informed of the circumstances of parts abroad.

But, so far as relates to England, it would be want of duty not to give your Majesty this clear account, that there is a deadness and want of spirit in the nation, universally so, as not at all to be disposed to the thought of entering into a new war, and that they seem to be tired out with taxes to a degree beyond what was discerned, till it appeared upon the occasion of the late elections; this is the truth of the fact, upon which your Majesty will determine what resolutions are proper to be taken.

That which remained was the consideration what would be the condition of Europe, if the proposal took place: Of this we thought ourselves little capable of judging, but it seemed, that, if Sicily was in the French hands, they will be entirely masters of the Levant trade; that if they were possessed of Final, and those other sea-ports on that side, whereby Milan would be entirely shut out from relief by sea, or any other commerce, that dutchy would be of little signification in the hands of any Prince; and that, if the King of France had possession of that part of Guipiscoa, which is mentioned in the proposal, besides the ports he would have in the ocean, it does seem he would have as easy a way of invading Spain on that side, as he now has on the side of Catalonia.

But

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But it is not to be hoped, that France will quit its pretences to so great a succession, without considerable advantages; and that we are all assured, your Majesty will reduce the terms as low as can be done, and make them, as far as is possible in the present circumstances of things, such as may be some foundation for the future quiet of Christendom; which all your subjects cannot but be convinced is your true aim. If it could be brought to pass that England might be some way a gainer by this transaction, whether it was by the Elector of Bavaria, (who is the gainer by your Majesty's interposition in this treaty,) his coming to an agreement to let us into some trade to the Spanish plantations, or in any other manner, it would wonderfully endear your Majesty to your English subjects.

It does not appear, in case this negotiation should proceed, what is to be done on your part, in order to make it take place: Whether any more be required than the English and Dutch should sit still, and France itself to see it executed. If that be so, what security ought to be expected, that if, by our being neutrals, the French be successful, they will confine themselves to the terms of the treaty, and not attempt to make further advantages of their success?

I humbly beg your Majesty's pardon that these thoughts are so ill put together: These waters are known to discompose and disturb the head, so as almost totally to disable one from writing: I should be extremely troubled, if my absence from London has delayed the dispatch of the commission one day. You will be pleased to observe, that two persons (as the commission is drawn) must be named in it, but the powers may be executed by either of them. I suppose your Majesty will not think it proper to name commissioners that are not English, or naturalized, in an affair of this nature.

I pray God give your Majesty honour and success in all your undertakings. I am, with the utmost duty and respect,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most dutiful and

most obedient subject and servant,

TUNBRIDGE,
29th August 1698. }

P. S. The commission is wrote by Mr Secretary, and I have had it sealed in such a manner, that no creature has the least knowledge of the thing, besides the persons named.

BOOK IX.

B O O K IX.

A new Parliament.—The King appoints a Tory Ministry.—His refined Policy to bring Parliament into the War of the Succession.—Whig Lords impeached for partition Treaties, and acquitted.—Settlement of Protestant Succession, with its Conditions.—Affairs of Ireland and Scotland.—Anecdote.

A. D. 1700, 1701.

A PARLIAMENT which, in two successive sessions, had shewn so little regard to the King's personal feelings as a Monarch, a foldier, and a friend, could hardly expect to fit a third time, and, therefore, he resolved to get quit both of it, and of his whig ministers, who had been of so little use to him in it. But, to conceal his intentions, he prorogued Parliament from time to time, giving often hopes of assembling it again, until the month of December, when he summoned a new one to meet him two months after. The use he had made of the recess was to pack parties, with a view to make his business move more easily in the new Parliament, than it had done in the last. In doing so he had many advantages: The people always judge of measures by their events; and the issue of the partition treaties was unlucky; in consequence of which, his whig ministers, who conducted them, were become unpopular, and it was believed, that impeachments would be brought against them. The whig party itself in Parliament was, at this time, unpopular, on account of their having, in compliance with the King's will, followed their leaders in voting against disbanding the army contrary to the ancient principles of their party, and in voting against the bill of resumption, which the people

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New Parliament.

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1700.

had been made to believe would produce so much money, as to disburden them of all those parts of the taxes which fell heaviest upon them. The King, therefore, desired Lord Chancellor Somers, Mr Montague head of the Treasury, Lord Orford (formerly Admiral Ruffel) head of the Admiralty, to resign their stations, and even Lord Portland his place of the Groom of the Stole, that no distinction might appear to be made between English whigs and foreign whigs. All these persons obeyed, except Lord Somers, who said he had done no wrong, and feared nobody; and, therefore, the King was obliged to send a formal message, requiring the Great Seal from him. Many inferior figures of the whig party were removed. By these changes the King compassed three ends at once: He could oblige others with the vacant places; he gained popularity by removing unpopular ministers; and yet these ministers durst not quit him in Parliament, because they depended there for his protection against the storm which threatened themselves. Paying court to the tories, he prevailed with Sir George Littleton, Speaker to the former Parliament, to drop his pretensions to be Speaker to the new Parliament, in favour of Mr Harley (afterwards Earl of Oxford) head of the tory party in the House of Commons; and committed the power of Prime Minister to the Earl of Rochester, head of the same party in the House of Lords, whom he appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, for the sake of the great emoluments of the office, but with no intention that he should go soon there. But, above all, he trusted that he should obtain popularity to himself all over the nation, by making provision against the return of the exiled family, and for the security of the Protestant succession, for which there was now an opening by the death of the Duke of Gloucester, only son to the Princess Anne, which had happened during the interval of Parliament.

The King's refined policy to bring England into the war.

THE great object of the King's wishes at this time was, to prevail with his new Parliament to get France and Spain, or rather France alone, (for Spain was, at this time, so weak as hardly to be counted in the scale of nations,) either by treaty or force, but rather by force, (for of successful treaty there was little chance,) to give the custody of a number of cautionary towns in the Spanish Netherlands, as a barrier for the security of Holland, and (as was alleged) of Britain.

But when the meeting of Parliament approached, it was discovered, that though the King had a majority in the House of Lords, by the junction of the interest of the late ministers, on account of their fears, to that of his present ministers, who were glad to receive help even from foes; yet that the House of Commons, composed chiefly of tory members, and consequently of the landed interest, were averse from war, because they foresaw, that the taxes necessary to support it would fall chiefly upon them, according to the common, and, in general, true saying, that all taxes fall ultimately on the landlord. The King, therefore, resolved to act the very same part with regard to foreign affairs, which, in his march from Torbay to London, he had acted with regard to the Revolution; that is, to suit his conduct to accidents, and to take care, that whatever measures were adopted, should be those of the English themselves, and not his.

WITH this view, on the 14th of February, after pressing the Houses, in the first part of his opening speech, to provide for the security of the Protestant succession, he informed them of the accession of the King of Spain, and, with an air of indifference, added, that he desired them "to consider the state of affairs abroad." The Commons framed a resolution in as general terms, "That they would support him and his government, and take measures for the safety of England, of the Protestant religion, and of the *peace of Europe*." The Peers went much further; for, in their address, they "desired the King to enter into alliances with all those Princes and states who were willing to unite for the preservation of the *balance of Europe*," and sent it to the Commons for their concurrence; but the Commons demurred, and desired a conference.

IN order to quicken the Commons, the King, on the 17th of February, sent to Parliament an intercepted letter from Lord Mellfort to his brother Lord Perth, which shewed, that there was a project in agitation for an invasion from France; and next day sent a memorial from the Dutch, in which they informed him, that they had offered a negotiation to France for the prevention of war, to which they asked his concurrence; that a disappointment in the negotiation might draw down upon them the resentment of the King of France, who had already sent

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numerous forces to their frontiers; and entreated, that he would keep in readiness the 10,000 men, and the 20 ships of war, with which England was, by the treaty of the year 1677, bound to assist them, if they were attacked. But the Commons took no notice of the first paper, and went no farther on the second, than to address the King, on the 20th February, to comply with the terms of the treaty of the year 1677, and to enter into such *negotiations*, in concert with the Dutch, and other powers, as might conduce to the safety of the King's dominions, and the Dutch, and the preservation of the *peace* of Europe. So that while he was desired by the one House to provide for the *balance of the power* of Europe, he was desired by the other to provide only for its *peace*; by the one to enter into *alliances*, but by the other only to *negotiate*.

ON the 18th of March, he laid before the Commons proposals made by him and the Dutch to France and Spain, but which had been refused, to wit, that England should be permitted to keep cautionary garrisons in the towns of Ostend, and Newport, as a barrier for England; and the Dutch in the towns of Vanloo, Ruremond, Stevenswardt, Luxemburgh, Namur, Charleroi, Mons, Dendermonde, Damme, and St Donnas, as a barrier for Holland. But the Commons took no notice of the proposals, further than to thank the King for communicating them.

ON the 24th of April, he laid before the Commons several resolutions of the States-General, full of hostility to France, and of attention to England: The Commons did not even thank him for the communication.

AT last, on the 8th day of May, the King communicated to both Houses, a letter from the States-General to him, in which, with the highest kind of eloquence, to wit, the simple enumeration of striking circumstances, they said, "The French had made many attempts to engage them in a negotiation separate from England, but to none of them they had listened, because they deemed the interests of Holland and England to be inseparable. The French had drawn one line from Antwerp on the Scheldt to the Maese on the one hand, and

“ were preparing to draw another from Antwerp to the sea at Ostend
 “ on the other, with an intention to lock them up within those lines.
 “ They had placed French garrisons in all the Spanish towns in the
 “ Netherlands; had sent great bodies of troops, and great trains of
 “ artillery to the towns on the Dutch frontiers; and established great
 “ magazines of provisions, and of all sorts of military stores in these last.
 “ They were erecting forts, under the very cannon of many of the Dutch
 “ places; and by treaties of alliance, or under pretence of neutralities,
 “ were detaching from them those allies who surrounded, and former-
 “ ly defended them. A peace, in such circumstances, was worse to
 “ them than a state of war, because they were receiving injuries
 “ which they were not at liberty to repel; whereas in war, they could
 “ both ward mischief from themselves, and inflict it on their enemies.
 “ As one of their last resources, they had broke down their dikes, and
 “ covered their country with water, because less dangerous to them
 “ than the menaces of France; and had now no longer safety on any
 “ side, except from the sea, and the protection of England.” This
 recital made the greater impression, because accounts had been re-
 ceived at different times in England, that the French had taken pos-
 session of the Italian provinces of Spain, as well as of the Netherlands;
 detained the Dutch garrisons, whom they found in these last; station-
 ed their grand fleet to keep possession of the bay of Cadiz; and sent
 squadrons of ships of war, and fleets of merchantmen, to the Spanish
 harbours in the West Indies and America, while they would not per-
 mit the ships of any other nation to enter them. And therefore, at
 last, the generosity of the Dutch, in refusing to treat separately from
 England, and their extreme distress, affected the minds of the Com-
 mons as much as of the Peers. The Peers, in an address to the King,
 said, “ They were satisfied, that the safety of Holland and England
 “ were so inseparably connected, that what was ruin to the one, was
 “ fatal to the other;” and desired him “ to enter into a strict league,
 “ offensive and defensive, with Holland, for the common preservation
 “ of both countries; and that he would invite into it all Princes and
 “ States who are concerned in the present visible danger, arising from
 “ the union of France and Spain; and particularly that he would form
 “ an alliance with the Emperor, pursuant to the ends of the treaty
 “ of the year 1689.” They concluded with a prayer, “ That God

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1700.

“ Almighty might protect his person in so righteous a cause, and carry him and them with honour and success through all the difficulties of a just war.” In terms more modest, but of equal consequence, the Commons resolved, without a contradictory voice, “ effectually to assist his Majesty to support his allies in maintaining the liberty of Europe.”

Whig Lords
impeached.

1701.

THIS unanimity was occasioned by an accident, of which the King scrupled not to take some, though not too much advantage : Soon after the new Parliament was assembled, the tories made preparations for impeaching the late whig ministers, the Lords Portland, Somers, Halifax and Orford, for negotiating the partition treaties ; and the Marquis of Normanby began the attack upon them in the House of Lords. But the King retired to the country *, and seemed to give himself no trouble about it. In the two first weeks of April, the Lords were impeached, and, on the 16th of that month, the Commons, in a very artful address, in which they endeavoured to separate the King's conduct from that of his ministers, in the management of the treaties, prayed him “ to remove them from his presence and councils for ever.” The King's answer was, that “ he would employ none in his service, but such as should be thought likely to improve the mutual confidence between him and his people.” From this answer, it was inferred, that he was to give up the four Lords to the vengeance of their enemies. But a few days after, the House of Lords, regarding the laws of justice, and the dignity of Parliament, addressed him not to prejudge the cause of persons, who were under trial by the impeachments, nor to punish any person until guilt was proved against him : And then the King ordered their names not be erased from the council-book, which must have been erased, had he intended to comply with the address of the Commons ; and from that order it was inferred, that he meant not to give them up. In this uncertainty of his intentions, the tories hoped, that by pleasing him on the subject of the war, they should induce him to let the impeachments take their course ; and the late whig ministers and their friends hoped, by the same compliance, to gain his protection against the storm. And thus both Houses, and both parties, gave him full authority to form the alliances he wished for.

* Burnet.

THE impeachments proceeded, but were defeated by the partiality of those who conducted them: For they did not include in the impeachment Lord Jersey, because he was of their own party, although he had been Secretary of State, and ambassador in France, in conducting the last of the treaties; and they insisted with the Lords, that the accused Peers should not judge in any questions relating to each other. But above all, the attempt which had been made to prevail with the King to punish men, who were entitled to be presumed innocent, till they were found guilty, and who were actually under trial for fortune, life and fame, shocked their generous judges. The Commons, therefore, under pretence that the Peers had done injustice to them, in refusing to comply with some trifling forms of procedure on which they insisted, did not appear at the bar of the House of Lords, when called upon to support their impeachments, and the Lords were acquitted. Each House then made grievous complaints of the other; and the people, according to their different humours, complained sometimes of the one, and sometimes of the other; displeased in public, as they always are, that the great had not fallen, and yet pleased inwardly, that no injustice had been committed.

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And acquitted.

BUT while the two parties were thus struggling to pull each other to pieces in Parliament, both of them had neglected the great object from which the King had expected so much popularity to himself, the settlement of the Protestant succession. The bill which had been brought in for that purpose, in the beginning of the Session, lay over for two months. And when it was taken up, Bishop Burnet says, few members attended the House, and that it was put upon a member, who was not in his right senses, to name the successor. When the whig party in England assume the merit of placing the family of Hanover on the throne, they belie all history to serve themselves. For they opposed and defeated the settlement, soon after the Revolution, and gave themselves no trouble about it in the end.

Settlement
of Protestant
succession.

BUT Parliament shewed more attention to the conditions on which they received the new family; because, in framing those conditions, they could indulge party spirit, and private passion. Almost all of the conditions were intended as hits against a King who was intent

And its conditions.

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on nothing but their good: For one condition, reflecting on the King's favour to foreigners was, that foreigners should be incapable of sitting in Parliament, or in the Privy Council of England, of holding offices civil or military, or of receiving grants of land from the Crown: Another was, that the reigning Prince should not engage the nation in wars, on account of foreign dominions, without consent of Parliament, in allusion to the King's foreign wars, his attack upon Copenhagen, and the partition treaties: A third, that the King should not go abroad without consent of Parliament, in allusion to the frequency of his journeys to Holland: A fourth, that every Privy Counsellor should sign his opinion, because that form had been disregarded in the conduct of the partition treaties: And the last, that no placeman or pensioner under the Crown should sit in Parliament, because the King had twice refused a bill for that purpose. Yet William, like a wise mother to a forward child, gave way to them all, conscious, that no future Prince would be rash enough to engage the nation in wars, without the consent of Parliament, when the supplies, which were to support them, depended on Parliament; that the first Prince of spirit who filled the throne, would, for his own sake, get the second condition, and the Privy Counsellors, and Members of Parliament, for their own sakes, get the two last conditions revoked; in all of which expectations, his views into futurity have proved just, since his death.

Affairs of Ireland.

THERE are different ways of conducting different nations: But the fairest and gentlest are generally the most easy. I once asked the late Lord Harcourt, when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, how he contrived to carry all the points of Government, and yet to be the favourite of the people? He made this golden answer, "I never trick the Irish." To guide the people of that country, their rulers must be as open as themselves. Ever since the recall of Lord Sidney, the King had seen this truth in its full light. By shewing mercy to the rebel, and placing just confidence in the loyalist, he secured both: He asked nothing of Irish Parliaments, but what it was their own interest to give; and, in return, they presented no bills, but what it was his interest to pass. The monarchial and popular parts of the constitution, therefore, vied with each other, which should most promote the public service, and

the public good. Hence the Irish, who, in the beginning of his reign, appeared the most disaffected of all his subjects to his person and cause, became in the end the most attached to both ; and his memory is, at this day, more dear in Ireland, than in any part of the British dominions. The dispute about the linen and woollen manufacture in the year 1698, had created a disgust between the two nations, but none between the Irish and their Sovereign : For he, who, from his youth, had conducted the affairs of a mercantile state, knew well the impossibility of diverting the course of manufactures from their own channels, by declarations of rights in public assemblies ; and therefore, although in public he paid the compliment to the prejudices of his English subjects, of recommending to the Irish Parliament, the interests of the linen, in preference to the woollen manufacture, because it was the staple of England ; yet he took not offence when no attention was paid to his recommendation in public, and when it was counteracted every where in private : And the wise of both countries were pleased, that, by drawing a prudent veil over pretensions on both sides, hostilities were prevented, or at least suspended, till a period when nothing but an union between the two kingdoms will probably be able to prevent them any longer. The consequence of all these things was, that Ireland, by her troops, her supplies, and the example of her loyalty, was of great weight to William and to England in the scale of Europe and of the war.

To conduct Scotland in this reign, was not so easy, because the Scots, through the habits of religious and civil faction, ever since the birth of their Queen Mary, were become more designing than the Irish ; yet still it was not difficult. After the settlement of Presbytery, the clergy universally, and the common people, almost universally, were on the side of the Revolution : And in a country, in which every the most trifling transaction of life, in order to be valid in law, must enter into a record, with the name and designation of the party concerned in it, which makes every man, who has a title to birth, capable of proving it by record, and therefore stamps a value and pride upon birth, and in which subordination to superiors was habitual, it required little else on the side of Government, to conduct the governed, than politeness to the higher, and attention to commit no outrages against the inferior orders of the State. Hence the affairs of the King and

And of Scotland.

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of the nation, had moved easily along in Scotland for several years after the year 1693. The diversion of the money to the service of Ireland in that year, which had been intended to raise regiments in Scotland, was felt only by those who had been disappointed in not getting the commissions. The affair of Glencoe, though prosecuted in Parliament, had not been punished there; because the warrant, twice signed by the King, made the attack upon his ministers too personal to himself; and because the Lords Stair and Breadalbane kept a prudent silence upon the share which the privy-council of Scotland*, and several of the great families had, in ordering and preparing the execution of the letters of fire and sword; and consequently were protected by all those whom that silence served. The address of the English House of Commons, in the year 1695, against the Darien Company, was imputed to national caprice, not to the King. Even the memorial of his Resident at Hamburgh, which disowned the Company, and the proclamations of his American and West India Governors, which proscribed it, were imputed to the English ministers, and not to the King, because he disavowed, and promised to recal them. But his assurances having produced no effect, either because, in the hurry of other business, he had neglected to issue the orders he intended, or because his orders were not obeyed; (for it is not certain which of the two was the case,) the rage of the Scots rose against the King, in proportion to the confidence which they had reposed in him, which they thought he had abused: And it was not a resentment of the multitude, or of an opposing party, but of his ministers and servants joined to both, because their own fortunes, and those of their relations, friends and dependants, were embarked in the Company. On these accounts, the King had been obliged to permit only two sessions of Parliament to be held in four years. The last of them had even been adjourned by the Lord Commissioner in a hurry, in the middle of a debate on the wrongs done to the Darien Company: And the King had received a petition to reassemble it, and to do justice to the Darien Company †, when presented to him in the name

* *Vide* former volume of these Memoirs, Part II. Book VI.

† *Vide* the Marquis of Tweeddale's account of the audience, in a letter from him to the Darien Company.

of the Scottish nation, by his late Lord Chancellor Tweeddale, with less civility than was usual to him. Every nerve, except that of downright rebellion, the Scots exerted as public bodies, and as individuals, in the cause of their Company, their country, and of human kind; and their public papers, drawn by such hands as those of Lord Stair and Fletcher of Salton, are models of composition to shew respect to Government, mixed with firm assertion of their own rights: But all in vain.—In this situation, the King had, for several years, drawn either no supplies from Scotland, or they were so trifling, as not to deserve the name of supplies, and (which was more material to a soldier) none of the usual parliamentary grants of recruits for the service of his regiments*. So that Scotland was become a mere feather to its Sovereign in the scale of the war. The present, therefore, was not a time for the King to ask the concurrence of the Scots in his views against France, or in the settlement of the succession of a crown, which, at that time, in that country, was so unpopular on his own head.

ALL these proceedings of the Scottish Parliament, of the Darien Company, of the King's ministers, and of the King, were published in a volume in Scotland. And from that publication it has been made a question, whether William behaved with his ordinary sincerity and steadiness, in the assurances of favour which he gave more than once to the Company during their distresses. The following anecdote makes it probable, that there was a struggle in his breast, between the part which he was obliged to act to please his English and Dutch at the expence of his Scots subjects, and his own feelings. A provision ship of the first colony, in which were thirty gentlemen passengers, and some of them of noble birth, having been shipwrecked at Carthage, the Spaniards believing, or pretending to believe, that they were smugglers, cast them into a dungeon, and threatened them with death. The Company deputed Lord Basil Hamilton from Scotland, to implore King William's protection for the prisoners. The King, at first, refused to see him, because he had not appeared at Court when he was last in London. But when that difficulty was removed by explanation, an expression fell from the King, which showed his sense of the generous conduct of another, although influenced by the English

Anecdote.

Y 2

* The last grant was of 1000 recruits in the year 1695. *Vide Scots Acts, 1695.*

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and Dutch East India Companies, he could not resolve to imitate it in his own. For Lord Basil's audience having been put off from time to time, but, at last, fixed to be in the Council-chamber after a Council was over, the King, who had forgot the appointment, was passing into another room, when Lord Basil placed himself in the passage, and said, "That he came commissioned by a great body of his Majesty's subjects to lay their misfortunes at his feet, that he had right to be heard, and would be heard:" The King returned, listened with patience, gave instant orders to apply to Spain for redress, and then turning to those near him, said, "This young man is too bold, if any man can be too bold in his country's cause." I had this anecdote from the present Earl of Selkirk, grandson to Lord Basil.

KINGS and nations should consider well before they commit wrongs. King William's desertion of a Company, erected upon the faith of his own charter, and the English oppressions of it, were the reasons why so many of the Scots, during four successive reigns, disliked the cause of the Revolution and of the Union. And that dislike, joined to English discontents, brought upon both countries two rebellions, the expenditure of many millions of money, and (which is a far greater loss) the downfall of many of their noblest and most ancient families.

B O O K X.

Death of James, and his Son proclaimed in France.—Popular Rage on that Account.—New Parliament.—The King's Reconciliation with Whigs.—Terms of second Grand Alliance, and Reflections on it.—King's Death.—Effect of it in the Minds of the People.—The King's Character.—Error in his Conduct of the War, and Consequences drawn from it.

A. D. 1701.

AS soon as the Session of Parliament was over in the end of June, the King went to Holland, to revive the ashes of the grand alliance, upon the resolutions which he had obtained from the two Houses, and to concert with foreign generals there, the plans of future campaigns which he meditated. But though his body was wasted, his legs swelled, his voice like that of a grasshopper weakened by an asthma, the most discouraging of all diseases, because at every draught of breath, it reminds the sufferer, and those who see him, that it may be his last; yet, surrounded with statesmen and warriors, the eye of the eagle (that feature of his face which struck the Duke of Berwick, when he saw the King for the first time at the battle of Landen) and the spirit of the eagle still remained with him. He concealed from the public, though not from his friends, his consciousness of the little time he had to live, and on that very account exerted himself the more to make use of that little.

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ABOUT the same time, his unfortunate rival was on his deathbed at St Germain, surrounded by priests, and a few followers of the Scots and Irish nations, who continued faithful to his fortunes to the last.

Death of
K. James, and
his son pro-
claimed King
in France.

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Lewis XIV. whose resolutions were always directed by a strange mixture of policy and sentiment, in which sometimes the one, and sometimes the other got the better, paid him a visit when in this situation. But whether he meant it as a mere visit of compliment and sympathy, or whether he had further views, is not known. When he entered the chamber, James was lying on his back with his eyes shut; the posture in which he commonly kept himself, that his mind, wrapped up in religious meditations, might be the less disturbed by external objects: His servants were performing services on their knees around him. So that Lewis thought he was dead, and was retiring. But one of the attendants informing James that the King of France was come to see him, he looked round the room, but was so insensible as not to perceive him, "and said, where is he?" Lewis approaching the bed, James was not able to speak, but taking the King's hand into his two hands, grasped it, kissed it, and a tear or two trickled upon it. Lewis, struck with the contrast between his own grandeur, and the humbled state of the other, burst into tears, and assured him that he would protect his son, and proclaim him King, upon an event which he hoped was far off. All in the chamber threw themselves on the ground, sharing in the passion of their two sovereigns. From thence the contagion of sympathy ran to the guards of the palace at the gate, and from them to the multitude without; so that when Lewis took his coach, he passed through thousands of people, blessing and praying for him, amidst the extreme imprudence of the measure to his own and his people's peace, perhaps more happy in that tender moment of passion, than he had ever been in his most active hours of exultation and glory. As he passed, he called for the officer of the guard, and gave him orders for proclaiming the young Prince, as soon as his father expired. The officer, who happened to be an Irishman, bowed, kneeled, and, weeping, retired. A few days after, on the 17th September, James died, and his son was proclaimed at St Germain's King of the British Islands, with all the parade of heralds, trumpets, and other ceremonies usual on such occasions.

Popular rage
on that ac-
count.

THE news of this proclamation set all England in a flame; for even those who wished well to the family of Stewart, accounted it an indignity, that a King of France should presume to name a King of England

without consulting his subjects. Addresses to the throne were therefore poured from every quarter of the kingdom, filled with gratitude to heaven for the Revolution, loyalty to William and the House of Hanover, and hostility against France. The King took advantage of the accident, as he was in use to do of every other, and, in November, amidst the transports of the people in his favour and against France, summoned a new Parliament; conscious, from the reluctance which the late House of Commons had shown to the war, their violence against his late ministers, and their differences with the House of Lords, that it would be the height of imprudence to begin a great war with a discontented and a divided Parliament. The event answered his expectations: A new House of Commons was returned by the people, which entered into all his views for the war; approved of his alliances (commonly called the second grand alliance) with the Dutch, the Emperor, the Danes, and the Swedes, to carry it on; voted a levy of 40,000 forces, a fleet to be equipped with 40,000 seamen to serve in it, and supplies to be raised adequate to the services for which they were needed;—addressed the King never to make peace with France, till he and the nation had received reparation for the affront lately put upon both at St Germain;—attainted the unfortunate boy of twelve years of age, who had been proclaimed King of England there; and framed a bill that passed into a law, which required an oath abjuring him, to be taken by all persons in public stations, and another to attain the late Queen; but the more generous Peers would give no countenance to the last.

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New Parliament. Reconciliation with whigs.

It was the whig party who chiefly promoted those measures in Parliament, partly from perseverance in the old principles of their party against France, and their own principles in favour of the Revolution; and partly because they who were the moneyed interest knew well, that those who had money would get better terms for it from the public, in time of war, than in time of peace. At the end of the last Parliament, they had even attempted to bully the House of Commons, by presenting to them one paper, entitled the *Kentish Petition*, in name of a great number of respectable persons in public and private life of that county, and by conveying to the Speaker another, entitled *Legion*, which bore to be in name of two hundred thousand of the people, in which they called upon the Commons to exchange their addresses for

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bills of supply for a war, and to attend to the voice of the people; and the last threatened them with vengeance if they did not. Not displeased in secret with such applications then, though he pretended to be so; but marking in public, now, the pleasure which he received from the compliances of Parliament, the King put a number of the whigs into the active departments of the state; and I have seen a correspondence between Lord Sunderland and the King, which shewed, that, tired with the unroyal occupation of balancing parties, and of intriguing with his own subjects and servants, he had formed a final resolution to let a free nation have its way in favour of the reputed sons of freedom, and to govern during the rest of his reign, or at least as long as his people chose it, by that whig party which, at the convention, had placed the crown on his head.

Terms of second grand alliance, and reflections on it.

WHEN the terms of the second grand alliance were examined by the public, it was found, that the Italian dominions of Spain were destined for the Emperor, who had the worst right to them, the Spanish Netherlands as a barrier to the Dutch, who had no right at all, and the Spanish Indies as a prey to Holland and England, who had as little. Princes are often as culpable to the human race in their negotiations as in their wars. For, the convulsions of empires and nations, of which those terms laid the foundation, arose from offers of peace improperly refused on former occasions. It is a melancholy reflection upon the negotiations which preceded and succeeded the peace of Ryswick, that King William, in the year 1693, refused for the House of Bavaria, that succession to the Spanish Netherlands, which, in the first partition treaty, he took so much pains to obtain for it; and that Louis, in the year 1701, refused to England and Holland, the custody of ten cautionary towns in the Netherlands, when, a short time before, he had agreed to give up the dominion itself of the whole Netherlands, at one time, to the Prince of Bavaria, and, at another, to the Archduke. Had William accepted the offer of Louis at the first period, the war of the first grand alliance would have ended four years sooner than it did, and the war of the second grand alliance might have been prevented. And had Louis accepted the offer of William and the Dutch at the last period, the second war of the grand alliance had never been made, because the Emperor was too weak to withstand

what France, England, and Holland had agreed upon. And, in this last case, the second branch of the House of Bourbon, for whose sake Louis embroiled all Europe, would, at this day, have possessed the Milanese, Sardinia, Naples, Sicily, and the beloved Rock of Gibraltar, together with the dominion of the Spanish Netherlands; and, perhaps, that dominion, unfettered with the English and Dutch garrisons, proposed to be put into some of its towns, but which those nations would perhaps, long before now, have withdrawn, with the same indifference, wherewith the present Emperor, by a cruel satire either upon the politics of the last age, or upon his own politics, has dismantled a barrier, which two wars and two reigns were employed to obtain.

BUT, in the midst of those great projects of negotiation and war, the King got a fall by the stumbling of his horse near Hampton-court, by which his collar-bone was dislocated. It was immediately set, and his surgeon advised him to rest. But he had business at Kensington, and, disregarding pain and danger as he usually did when his mind was intent on its pursuits, went there in his coach, by the jolting of which, the bandage of the dislocation was loosened, and a trifling injury to a feeble body brought death upon him in a few days. He kept his senses to the last moment, took his farewell of several of the great who surrounded him, and, calling for Lord Portland, endeavoured to speak to him; but being unable, drew Portland's hand to his heart, pressed it there, and expired an hour after, on the 8th day of March, in the 52d year of his age. On his left arm was found a ribbon, which had tied to it a gold ring, with some hair of the late Queen Mary. The last words of Charles II. were the expression of a man who regretted to part with life for the sake of its pleasures: "Faites ouvrir les rideaux, à fin que je voye encore le jour:" "Open the curtains that I may once more see the light of the sun*." But the words of William near his end, with the indifference of a firm mind to what he could not help, were, "Je tire vers ma fin:" "I draw to my end." Cromwell, who destroyed the constitution, received a public funeral; but King William, who saved it, did not; and no honours were raised to his memory, from the dislike of his successor to

Death of the King.

Z

* Appendix to former volume of these Memoirs, Part I. p. 98.

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Sentiments
of the public
on his death.

him, the parsimony of Parliament, and the ingratitude of a public, which has a much better memory (if I may be pardoned such an expression) for favours to come, than for favours that are past.

SOME maliciously observed upon his death, that the horse from which he fell, had been formerly the charger of the unfortunate Sir John Fenwick, for whose death the King had been blamed. But the more generous remembered, and recounted then, or since, “ That to King William, the first act of toleration, known in the history of England, “ is due, and which was not followed by a second, till the reign of his “ present Majesty, and the administration of Lord North *: That it “ was he who erected the Bank of England; he who gave wings to the “ public credit of England; he who established the East India Company “ of England on a firm basis; he who settled the family of Hanover on “ the throne of England, although he knew well (of which I have seen “ certain evidence) that the first of that family, whom he destined to “ the succession, the Electress Sophia, was no friend to him; he who “ receiving much bad usage from the nation which he had saved, “ bore it all, steady to the great general good, unfeeling only to the “ injuries done to himself; he who, when obliged to injure the relations of nature, in order to save liberty, the Protestant religion, “ England, Holland, and all Europe, except France, endeavoured to “ repair that injury by intended kindnesses to King James’s Queen, “ and to King James’s son; he who, of the only three free nations “ then on earth, the Swiss, Dutch, and English, saved the liberties of

* The writer of these Memoirs has been complained of by some persons, on account of the last of those acts, to wit, that of toleration in favour of Roman Catholics. That he suggested it, that he pressed it, and that, to a certain degree, he had the honour to conduct it, he avows, and wishes it may be engraved on his tombstone. He understood at the time, that the success of the bill in England was due to the generosity of the clergy of the Church of England. He has reason to believe, that its not being extended to Scotland, was owing to a few of the clergy of that Church. If that belief be just then to those persons it is to be imputed, that fire was first set to Edinburgh, next to Glasgow, in the end to London, and that similar laws of toleration, in favour of Protestants, which, to his certain knowledge, were intended in more than one Roman Catholic country of Europe, were not promulgated. I mention those circumstances to shew how much good even one private person may do in a free country, as I did; and how much mischief a few may do, as they did.

“two; he, in fine, to whom mankind owe the singular spectacle of a
 “monarchy, in which the monarch derives a degree of greatness and
 “security from the freedom of his people, which treasures and arms
 “cannot bestow on other princes; and that at a time when military
 “governments are extending their strides over every other part of
 “Europe, there is still one country left, in which it is worth the while
 “of a man to wish to live.” And, attending to events which immediately
 preceded the close of his life, they observed, “That the last treaty
 “which he signed, was the second grand alliance: That the last ap-
 “pointment which he made of a General and Ambassador to conduct
 “that alliance, was of the Earl of Marlborough, because he knew the
 “superiority of his talents for war and negotiation, though he liked
 “not the man, and had received deep injuries from him: That the
 “last charter which he was to have signed, and which was signed by
 “his successor, immediately after his death, was the charter uniting
 “the two East India Companies into the present great one: That the
 “last act of Parliament which he passed, completed the security of the
 “Hanover succession, often pressed for by him before: That the last
 “message which he sent to Parliament, when he was in a manner ex-
 “piring, five days before his death, was to recommend an union, twice
 “recommended by him to Parliament before, between the two parts
 “of the Island, which doubled the strength of both, by disabling their
 “enemies to make advantage of their dissensions: And that his last
 “speech to Parliament, was one of the noblest that ever was spoke by
 “a British Prince.” I transcribe some passages of it, because the
 speech is known to have been his own composition, and indeed is
 easily distinguishable as such, by the air of simplicity and sincerity
 which breathes forth in it.

“My LORDS and GENTLEMEN,

“By the French King’s placing his grandson on the throne of
 “Spain, he is in a condition to oppress the rest of *Europe*, unless
 “speedy and effectual measures be taken. Under this pretence he is
 “become the real master of the whole *Spanish* monarchy; he has
 “made it to be entirely depending on France, and disposes of it as
 “of his own dominions; and by that means, he has surrounded his
 “neighbours in such a manner, that, though the name of peace may

“ be said to continue, yet they are put to the expence and inconveni-
“ encies of war.

“ THIS must affect England in the nearest and most sensible man-
“ ner: In respect to our trade, which will soon become precarious in
“ all the various branches of it; in respect to our peace and safety at
“ home, which we cannot hope should long continue; and in respect
“ to that part which England ought to take in the preservation of the
“ liberty of *Europe*.

“ IN order to obviate the general calamity, with which the rest of
“ *Christendom* is threatened by this exorbitant power of *France*, I have
“ concluded several alliances, according to encouragement given me
“ by both Houses of Parliament, which I will direct shall be laid be-
“ fore you, and which I doubt not, you will enable me to make
“ good.

“ You have yet an opportunity, by God's blessing, to secure you and
“ your posterity in the quiet enjoyment of your religion and liberties,
“ if you are not wanting to yourselves, but will exert the ancient vi-
“ gour of the *English* nation; but I tell you plainly, my opinion is,
“ if you do not lay hold on this occasion, you have no reason to hope
“ for another.

“ IN order to do your part, it will be necessary to have a great
“ strength at sea, and to provide for the security of our ships in har-
“ bour; and also, that there be such a force at land, as is expected in
“ proportion to the forces of our allies.

“ I do recommend these matters to you with that concern and ear-
“ nestness, which their importance requires. At the same time, I
“ cannot but press you to take care of the public credit, which can-
“ not be preserved but by keeping sacred that maxim, That they shall
“ never be losers, who trust to a Parliamentary security.

“ IT is always with regret, when I do ask aids of my people; but
“ you will observe, that I desire nothing which relates to any personal

“ expence of mine ; I am only pressing you to do all you can for your
 “ own safety and honour, at so critical and dangerous a time ; and I
 “ am willing, that what is given, should be wholly appropriated to the
 “ purposes for which it is intended.

“ AND, since I am speaking on this head, I think it proper to put
 “ you in mind, that during the late war, I ordered the accounts to be
 “ laid yearly before Parliament, and also gave my assent to several
 “ bills for taking the public accounts, that my subjects might have the
 “ satisfaction to know how the money given for the war was applied ;
 “ and I am willing that that matter may be put in any farther way
 “ of examination, that it may appear, whether there were any misap-
 “ plications and mismanagements ; or whether the debt, that remains
 “ upon us, has really arisen from the shortness of the supplies, or the
 “ deficiency of the funds.

“ I SHOULD think it as great a blessing as could befall England, if I
 “ could observe you as much inclined to lay aside those unhappy fatal
 “ animosities, which divide and weaken you, as I am disposed to make
 “ all my subjects safe and easy, as to any, even the highest offences
 “ committed against me.

“ LET me conjure you to disappoint the only hopes of our enemies by
 “ your unanimity.

“ I WILL only add this ; if you do, in good earnest, desire to see
 “ England hold the balance of Europe, and to be indeed at the head
 “ of the Protestant interest, it will appear by your right improving the
 “ present opportunity.”

THIS speech was translated and published in every country of Europe,
 and roused Princes and States, some by their policy, some by their re-
 ligion, but all by their sentiment, like the sound of a trumpet, against
 France.

THE portrait of King William is easily drawn, because it consists of
 three broad lines, Simplicity, Utility, and just Pride of character ; three

Character of
 K. William.

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qualities that compose the character of Socrates, which whoever follows, will pass with success and honour through private life. But it is a portrait that should be much more studied, examined and imitated by men in public life, and above all by British Princes; for in proportion as these last shall imitate King William, in the expansion of his mind to the love of religious toleration, that fairest flower of cultivated humanity*; in his openness and sincerity to his subjects, in public and in private, his mercy to his enemies, his temper to his opposers, and the warmth, steadiness and even partiality of his private friendships; in his fortitude against misfortune, moderation during prosperity, and readiness to take advantage of accident, and yet to give way to it; in his application to public business, without pretending singly to direct what can be done with difficulty, even by numbers; in his yielding to parties in a country full of party, in order to recover them, instead of combating, and thereby losing them for ever; in his scorning to court popularity by his manners, when conscious that he could make it follow him by his actions; in his employing men of talents in his service wherever he could find them, even when he liked neither their persons nor their principles†; and even in his love of hunting, wine and good fellowship with his select friends, they will be glorious and

* In the dispute in Scotland at the Revolution, whether Episcopacy or Presbytery should be established, King William's instruction to the Duke of Hamilton, his Commissioner to Parliament, was, Let my good people of Scotland have whatever form of Church government they like best.

† It is easy for Princes, in easy situations, sometimes to employ men in their service, whom they do not like, because such Princes can receive little disturbance from them. But I know only four instances in history, of Princes, in uneasy situations, who made use of the talents, indiscriminately, of friends real or pretended, of foes political or personal, and of men professional, or of no profession, who would, and could do the business they were put to. Cyrus the younger, (of whom it is to be wished more was known) Julius Cæsar, Henry IV. of France, and King William. Henry IV. gave the care of the finances of France to Salle, though he was a soldier; and King William the care of the civil affairs of Scotland to Lord Portland, and of Ireland, first to Lord Galloway, and afterwards to Lord Athlone, though they were strangers as well as soldiers; but, for the best of all reasons, because they were men of sense, and had no partialities or prejudices, or interests in the countries committed to their charge. Cromwell, who, amidst all the irregularities of his mind, retained the generosity of his original situation, that of an English country gentleman, pursued this exalted policy. But the mortal hatred of his enemies put it out of his power to fulfil his intentions.

happy. And, on the other hand, in proportion as they shall imitate the crooked politics of the first and third Prince, or the violent politics of the second and fourth Prince of the Stuart race, or the selfish and unfeeling indifference too common to those who are elevated above the rest of human kind, their reigns will be inglorious to them, and to their people unhappy.

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THERE was one, and only one blemish in the political character of King William. He never felt sufficiently that the true grandeur of a Prince, who was both Stadtholder of Holland, and King of England, depended upon his acquiring and making use of the empire of the ocean. He confessed, that he did not understand sea affairs; and his actions and correspondence prove, that his mind was intent on very different objects. In his reign was first introduced the practice of making the Admiralty, a nursery for young, and an asylum for old politicians, instead of a board of efficient men in sea business; a business which requires as much variety of knowledge, and as much application to obtain it, as any profession whatever. In consequence of this radical error, his ships were not fully manned, nor fully victualled, nor were the repairs thoroughly executed. From a view, wise in the intention, but dangerous in the execution, of making war subservient to the interest of manufacture, the sails were made of home canvass, which being at that time a new manufacture in England, was inferior to the foreign. No care was taken to supply the seamen with fresh provisions, even in the Channel, and the quality of their salt provisions was often bad, and their surgeons were unskilful: Hence the English fleets were obliged to be attended by three, four or more hospital ships, when the Dutch had not one. The seamen were maltreated by their officers; the consequence of which was, that no volunteers were to be got, and the pressed men deserted when ever they could. Six regiments of marines were raised, but these soon dwindled into six marching regiments. The fleets were not attended by cruising frigates to bring them intelligence. In the first years of the war, the ships were never ready soon enough in the spring. And in the last years of it, great fleets of great ships were sent to sea, when it might have been known that the French ships of the same force were not in a capacity to leave their harbours; by which the great ships

Fault in his
conduct of
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were exposed to needless damage and danger, and the operations of smaller squadrons and ships suspended. But above all, neither the seamen, or officers, or even the pilots, were sufficiently acquainted with the coasts, the soundings, the tides, the passages, the rivers and the harbours of the enemy. Of all these things, there is evidence, which if not official, is very nearly so, because they are asserted by Mr Burchet, Secretary to the Admiralty, in his Memoirs, and the preface to them.

Reflections.

HAD these evils been remedied in England: Had the English and Dutch encreased their navies instead of their armies: And had they, in any one of the three last years of the war, laid out a million of money in paying 50,000 foreign troops, conveyed them in the navies and merchantmen of England and Holland, to lay a regular siege to Brest, or rather to go up the banks of the Seine through Normandy to Paris, while the fleets that brought them were sent to harass the sea coasts of France from Bayonne to Dunkirk, one of two consequences must have followed: Either peace would have been made at the gates of Paris, or the French have withdrawn their troops from Spain, Italy, Germany, and Flanders, which would have enabled one part of the allies to enter France on the one side, and another to fall down the Rhine to be put on shipboard with Dutch and English troops, to feed the war in the heart, and on the coasts of France on the other side; and, in both cases, the French must have laid their country waste, to starve the invading army. The ancient Normans kept France in continual alarms by such incursions; and it is in the power of their German posterity to do so again, whenever England and Holland shall unite, and as long as they shall keep the command of the sea. The very same possibility will open itself to France against England, whenever the French shall obtain a superiority at sea, with this advantage on their side, that a French fleet, blocking up the communication between the Newcastle collieries and London, would oblige England to send a herald to France, to sue for peace. Against these dangers, England has only five resources; but they are great ones: The first is a general militia, upon the plan of that of Switzerland, but improved by adding artillery, and still more by adding cavalry to it; for though ridicule may attend the observation, yet truth attends it too, that if the post hor-

ses and hunting horses of England were accustomed to stand fire, they could cut off the provisions, and harass the armies of one half of France, though landed safely in England. The second, that the infantry of the army, guards and all, like that of Athens and Carthage, should be obliged in their turns to do the duty of marines, even although it should soil the fine clothes of their officers a little. The third, that, in a sea war, England should conduct her foreign trade chiefly in neutral bottoms, and employ the whole strength of her shipping and seamen, to destroy the trade and seize the settlements of her enemies, and protect her own; so as to form a militia by sea as well as by land: For which purpose, rewards, naval honours, and protection from pressing, should be bestowed on privateers, to animate naval strength in every nerve of the nation, and to turn even the merchants into monarchs. The fourth, that every power of the mind of private and public persons, should be employed to extend the foreign trade and the fisheries of the nation. And the last, to obtain an incorporated union with Ireland, in order to double the importance of both countries; and a federal union with America, in order to secure that union of force, on which the strength of nations depends; by which a thousand mischiefs will be prevented, which, without that antidote, lie in the womb of time, big with destruction to England, and to America also. In the Appendix No. II. I have examined the practicability of bringing about these two unions.

It is said by some, that history ought to relate events, but not to make observations upon them, because Thucydides followed, in some degree, that rule, and Lucian prescribes it. But Polybius, Tacitus, Davila, thought otherwise. At a time when the French King is lessening his army, contracting the royal expences, bestowing the savings of both upon the increase of his navy, has just robbed England of thirteen provinces, and has plunged her into an hundred millions of debt; and, above all, at a time when the people of France are making strides to obtain that liberty, which, by the security it confers upon the property, the person, and the honour of the citizen, has been the great source of the elevation of England above all other nations; perhaps the above digression may be excused. To me it appears, that, to write history, without drawing moral or political rules of conduct from it, is little better than writing a romance.

PART IV.

BOOK I.

First Steps of the new Reign.—State of Alliances in Europe.—State of the Queen at Home.—Relative State of the English and French Nations.—State of English Ministry.—State of French Ministry.—State of the French Army.—State of French Alliances, and of the Cevennes.—Combination of Circumstances, with personal Character.—The French King's Plan of War.—State of Scotland.—Dispute concerning the Plan of the War on the part of England.—Campaign on the Continent.

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THE public, which was more just to King William after his death, than it had been during his life, as often happens to the great and good, when their superiority can no longer create envy, watched the first moves of his successor's reign with a jealous curiosity, to discover whether her former differences with him left any traces of resentment against his memory. And, therefore, when Queen Anne, in her first speech to the two Houses, said, That her heart was *truly English*, and they should always find her *a strict and religious observer of her word*; and when the House of Commons, some time after, in an address of compliment, the words of which are always contrived to be agreeable to the private sentiments of a court, said, that the success of the first year of the war had *retrieved* the honour of the English name in war; all these expressions were ill received by the public, because it was thought, that the first alluded to the late King's partiality to foreigners; the next, to his grants of the Irish forfeitures, after it was

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pretended, that he had promised to Parliament not to make them ; and the last, to the success of his wars being tarnished with the frequency of his defeats. But these traces of resentment were soon overlooked, as the first sallies of pique in a woman, when, impelled by the ambition of Lord Marlborough, she was seen to follow exactly the footsteps which her predecessor had marked out for her, confirmed his alliances, declared war against France in two months after his death, and gave L. 100,000 for the service of the war, out of the revenue which Parliament had assigned to herself, although it was not larger than that of King William ; and when the national vanity was flattered by a compliment which the Dutch, the Germans, and the Emperor, well knew to pay to the passions of the Queen, and of her favourite the Earl of Marlborough, when they appointed him, who was an Englishman, and had never commanded above 3000 men, to be General of the allied army, over the heads of all their own, their old, and their famed Generals.

State of alliances in Europe.

THE interval between the death of Charles II. of Spain, and of King William, had been spent in negotiations and intrigues, in every court of Europe, great and little, to support or oppose the elevation of the House of Bourbon. When the result of all these was known within a year after William's death, it appeared that Spain, the Indies, the Spanish Netherlands, the Milanese, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, the Duke of Savoy, whose daughter the young King of Spain married to attach him to his cause, the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, and the Duke of Wolfenbuttle, were taken out of the scale of the allies in the first grand alliance, and thrown into that of France in the second : That Portugal, which had formerly been neutral, was now on the side of the House of Bourbon : That although the Swedes were not in the scale of the House of Bourbon, they were taken out of that of the allies, because Sweden was not obliged to hire troops to them, unless she herself enjoyed peace, which she never did during the course of the war : That the weight of the Turks was, by a peace, taken off the Emperor, but a much more troublesome enemy was preparing to be put in their place, by insurrections of his discontented subjects in Hungary. And, therefore, at first sight, it appeared to the world that the allies were overbalanced in the war.

BUT the new Sovereign of England possessed advantages at home, to which her predecessor had been a stranger. Her brother could not be played against her by France, as her father had been against King William, because he was only thirteen years of age. His friends submitted to her, because she had long kept a private connection with them and her father's family, would have been entitled by the constitution to be regent during her brother's minority, if she had not assumed the Crown, and therefore appeared, in their eyes, the proper person to hold the reins of Government, while he was unable to do so; and being childless herself, he could have no competitor in her heart, for her succession at least. Her religious sentiments, in favour of the Church of England, from her infancy to her grave; sentiments, in the sincerity and steadiness of which people put much confidence, when they engross a female breast, attached the Church party to her, and, consequently, that tory party which was connected with it. The confidence which she put in Lord Godolphin, who had contrived to get the confidence of the whigs, by pressing for that war with France, when he saw it was to be commanded by his connection, the Earl of Marlborough, which in the late reign he had, along with the tory party, opposed, and even lost his place in the Treasury, for opposing, added to the firmness of her resolution to support the late King's alliances against France, seemed to make her secure against the natural propensity of the whig party to opposition. But above all, the dexterous game, which, though a dangerous and unroyal one, King William had been obliged, by the selfishness of his subjects, to play between the two great parties of the nation, in which he turned whigs into tories, by giving them places and honours, and tories into whigs, by taking them back again, had weakened the distinction between both, and put it out of the power of zealots, on either side, to assume pretences to high principles of party, which the public believed to be insincere on all sides. Hence Lord Godolphin and Lord Marlborough, who were wise and moderate men, found it easy to form a great party, in the nation as well as in Parliament, consisting of moderate whigs and moderate tories, who met each other half way on principles, and the whole way on the measures, which the Queen should pursue in foreign politics. Even the distinction between whig and tory, might perhaps have worn away altogether in this reign, if the weakness of Queen Anne had not afterwards raised up, for her own and her people's vex-

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ation, a new distinction, that of high church and low church in its place. But the surest of all proofs of the concessions which parties made to each other, appeared when the whigs gave way to the tories, vindicating themselves from the imputation of their aversion to the war at the end of the late reign; for they concurred in an address, probably contrived by Lord Godolphin to justify himself, which boasted that the unanimity of the satisfaction of the House, "vindicated the gentlemen of England, who had, by the vile pretences of designing men, been traduced, and industriously represented, as false to her Majesty's allies, because they were true to the interests of their country:"—An apology from the tories, which was the more readily received by the Queen, because they seemed to have yielded to her, what they had refused to her predecessor. And thus both whigs and tories vied with each other, as generally happens on a new reign, which of them should please the new Sovereign, the most and the soonest.

State of the
English and
French na-
tion.

THE nation too was in more fortunate circumstances than it had been during the preceding war. France, in the course of that war, had, upon the calculations stated in Book V. of these Memoirs, spent near 350 millions Sterling, and lost 400,000 men, to which number ought to be added 50,000 more, out of one half of the French army, which, from a very unwise parsimony, had been disbanded on the confines of France, as soon as brought home at the peace from the different theatres of the war; and who, having no money to carry them forward, either enlisted in the neighbouring services, or settled in the neighbouring countries, by which they were lost to France, and gained mostly to the enemies of France *. But England had spent only 60 millions Sterling: And as her native troops and seamen were about 80,000, whereas those of France were near half a million, she had not lost a sixth part of the men that France had. The fleet of England was increased, while that of France was diminished. The merchant shipping and the customs, were greatly risen above what they were at the peace of Ryfwick †. But above all, the operations of

* *Vide* Mr Chalmer's estimate, which contains an exact and complete pattern for forming a barometer of the state of a great maritime nation.

† Feuquières.

Mr Mountague, on public paper-credit, had opened the eyes of the nation to the greatness of its own resources, at a time when it did not owe above ten millions of debt, and when Lewis XIV. by the number of his wars, and the vanity and bad taste (which last is always expensive) of most of his buildings, and all his gardens, for near half a century, was staggering under an immense debt, which left him no resources, but in submitting to arts much beneath him to get money, and in the oppression and defrauding of his people. The meanest offices were sold by Government; for example, those of dividing and bundling up the hay for the use of the people of Paris *: And the salaries of higher offices, even of the King's Secretaries, were augmented, in consideration of money-advances by those who held them †: The plate was called in ‡: And the French Government, at one time raised the value of the coin ||, in order to make it go farther in public payments; and, at another time, sunk it, in order to force it into the mint, upon the promise of a recoinage at the standard value: But when the money was got there, a pretence was used, that the engines for coining were not quite ready, and a return was made, not in new coin, but in billets of State; a contrivance intended to gain, at the best, only a temporary relief, at the expence of a lasting disgrace, but which was attended with a much worse effect; for it put an instant stop to credit, both public and private §. The consequences of these things were, that Lewis paid an interest from twelve to fifteen *per cent.* for the little money he could procure in loans; and the billets of the Treasury passed in the spring of the year 1701, at a discount of ten, and in August, of fifty *per cent.* **: But the surest of all evidences of the distress of the French monarchy for money, are the three following facts: That in the year 1701, Lewis raised money, by turning many offices of honour, which were for life, or under reversion to the Crown, into offices of inheritance ††: In the year 1696, he sold five hundred letters of nobility: And from the beginning of the war, of the second grand alliance, the crosses of St Lewis, which because they were like the military crowns of the Romans, the rewards of military virtue, had thrown a spirit of emulation through the French armies, were publicly sold

* Gazette, October 13. 1701. † Ditto. ‡ Ditto, May 29. || Ditto, September 15.

§ Ditto. ** Ditto, May 5; August 28. and September 15. †† Ditto, August 28.

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English Mi-
nistry.

in public offices *. In a country, in which, at that time, family honours and military honours were every thing, and money nothing, in comparifon of either, thefe are the laft fubjects which Government would fell. From all thofe circumftances, it was obvious, that William, often defeated, never fubdued, inventive of refources, patient and perfevering, had given a fhake to the victorious and glittering Lewis on his throne, which could not fail to be felt by him in the next war he was to wage.

BUT above all, the fervants of the Sovereign of England were more fortunate in their fituations, than thofe of Lewis XIV. Lord and Lady Marlborough poffeffed the abfolute dominion of the fpirit of a miftrefs, which being weak, naturally relied on that of others, and fond, relied on thofe whom fhe loved. Her hufband, the Prince of Denmark, equally paffive in his character, was at the head of the Admiralty, Lord Marlborough, at the head of the army, Lord Godolphin, whole fon was married to one of his daughters, at the head of the Treafury, and Lord Sunderland, whole fon was married to another of them, Secretary of State; Lady Marlborough was Groom of the Stole to the Queen, and therefore neareft, and continually fo, to her perfon; Lord Marlborough himfelf was a man of great beauty, talents for war and negotiation, and rendered popular in the nation, and even in Parliament, by the frowns of a court in the late reign: So that he was mafter of the navy, the army, the treafury, the ftate, the palace, the Parliament and the people; and as his plans of war and negotiation, becaufe he was both general and minifter, were not dictated by others, and the fupplies for executing them were furnifhed in a manner from his own houfe, he was completely mafter of both, without being embarraffed by the indolence, paffions, or interefts of others.

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French Mi-
nistry.

WHEREAS, in France, the Minifters and Generals were difunited by their feparate interefts, and by court intrigues, Lewis XIV. grown felf-fufficient, by fuccefs, inftead of leaving the conduct of campaigns to his generals in the field, iffued orders to them from his cabinet-councils at Verfailles: And in that cabinet, Madam Maintenon,

* Feuquiers.

in whose apartment, to save the King the trouble of going elsewhere, his councils were generally held, often directed those measures, to which she pretended she was scarcely listening: A woman, perhaps, the most amiable and respectable in his kingdom, but who must have had as extraordinary a fortune in her politics, as in her marriage, if she had added a third example to the only two known in the history of the world, those of Zenobia and Queen Elisabeth, of women who had all the natural abilities, acquired talents, and courage of men, to rule great kingdoms: In consequence of these new councils of war, the generals were sometimes chosen according as their religious principles and practices agreed with those of Madam Maintenon, who was very devout, rather than according to the military powers of their minds.

ADD to this, that Lewis had outlived his great Generals and Ministers. Condé, Turenne and Luxemburgh were no more; and the public saw none who could fill their places, because the superiority of their talents had damped, as great superiority often does, the talents of others. Colbert, who, by his industrious and sagacious genius, had found treasures in the resources of trade and manufacture, to support his master's wars; Louvois, who, in the vigilance, sublimity and universality of his genius, had found for him magazines of arms and provisions every where, plans of offence and defence in war, fortifications, troops, and discipline to make those troops useful, were no more. Barbesieux succeeded, but unequally, to Louvois; vainly thinking that it is the mark of a man of genius, to be a man of pleasure, because Alcibiades was so; but forgetting that Barbesieux was not Alcibiades. To him succeeded Chamillard, raised by Madam Maintenon, to conduct the State, because he had conducted well the affairs of her convent of St Cyr, and who rashly ventured to fill, alone, the two great departments of Minister of finance and of war, which Colbert and Louvois had often confessed they could with difficulty find time to execute separately.

BUT the chief fatality which threatened Lewis, in entering into a new war, was that the discipline of his armies, that discipline to which the foldiers and commanders of Sparta, Rome and the late

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French ar-
my.

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King of Prussia, owed their victories, which had been introduced by Louvois, died with him. In consequence of this dissolution, Monsieur Feuquiers relates, that high ranks were given to many, only in order to throw lustre on the general under whom they were to serve; and these again, in consequence of their promotions, were entitled, on other occasions, to insist for commands, for which they were not qualified; that regiments were given to boys of family, to command veteran officers of character; that the battalions were fallen from seven hundred to five hundred men, and the squadrons in proportion, and their officers pocketed the difference of the pay; and that even of these weak battalions and squadrons, the officers allowed many of their men to go to their homes, on giving their pay in return for the indulgence. Hence the generals were deceived in the number of troops they commanded: The consequence of which could not fail to be, that in the day of action, they either could not cover the ground with the numbers they intended; or if they did cover it, they were obliged either to lessen the number of their ranks, or to increase the distance of the men in them. The arms were often ill tempered, the clothing cold, the magazines late and ill supplied, from the connection between contractors and the public offices; the troops ill paid; and neither officers nor soldiers, from the colonel to the drummer, were kept to their duty.

State of
French alli-
ances, and of
the Ceven-
nes.

To those who looked forward to futurity, it appeared, that the allies of Lewis, so numerous at present, would soon prove the source of mischief to him: For what chance was there, that Portugal would continue to aggrandize Spain, her ancient oppressor; or the Duke of Savoy France, to endanger himself; or the Duke of Wolfenbottle long withstand enemies by whom he was every where surrounded? It was known too to some, that in the mountains of the Cevennes, there was a secret fire of enthusiasm among the Protestants, which the hands of England and Holland, if skilfully directed, might draw forth to the most mischievous explosions.

Combination
with personal
Character.

BUT by those who combined the presumptive effects of personal character, with those which follow from the state of actual circumstances, it was observed, that an exhausted kingdom, a king stricken into age, a pious wife settling sometimes the disputes of divines,

and sometimes of statesmen; a stripling grandson on the tottering throne of Spain; armies without discipline, allies whose interest it was to break their alliance, and a country which contained the seeds of religious discord within itself, were opposed to the genius of Lord Marlborough and Prince Eugene; to the public credit of England, which could turn paper into gold, at a time when France was playing tricks with her coin to deceive her people; to the wisdom of Holland, and of Fagel and Heinfus, the friends, scholars and imitators of King William in simplicity and utility of character; to the ambitious and able Emperor Leopold; to the Electors of Brandenburg and Hanover, impelled to support that cause, to which the one owed the title of King, and the other that of Elector, and hoped to owe that of king also; and to the vast numbers, the valour, order and obstinacy of the troops of most of the Germanic body.

Those who reasoned thus, reasoned well; for, in such a situation, had King William lived a few years longer, he had probably gained all the glories which the Duke of Marlborough did, and passed to posterity as the greatest general and politician that ever lived.

THE French King's own consciousness of these weaknesses, appeared in his preparations for the new war. He had made the war of the first grand alliance, an offensive one, and for that reason, sent six armies into the dominions of his enemies, and into the field. But he obviously began the war of the second grand alliance upon a defensive plan. He did not send above 10,000 men into Spain, under pretence that it was too far off to be attacked by its enemies. Instead of opposing the entry of the Germans into Italy through the Trentine, which he could easily have done, by taking possession of a trifling part of the Venetian territories, he placed garrisons in the Milanese, and ordered Marechal Catinat to remain with a small French army, between the Adige and the Po, against the army of the Emperor, in order to draw that Prince's troops to a greater distance from the side of France; but assigned as his reason, that in that quarter, he knew Catinat's army would be supported by the Spanish and Italian troops of the King of Spain. He sent only 25,000 men into Bavaria, to join the Elector, because he said he knew well, that the Elector's situation on the Danube, gave him sufficient power to torment

The French King's plan of war.

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the Emperor in the heart of his own dominions, without the aid of France; and he filled the strong places on the side of the Rhine, and of the Netherlands, with great garrisons, sending armies there rather to protect those towns, than to fight his enemies in the field, reflecting, that in nine years of the last war, when he possessed only a part of the towns of the Netherlands, he had lost almost none of them; and that now, when he possessed the whole, he could protract a war of sieges as long as he pleased. Unfortunately for England, she perceived not his plan, and instead of making a war upon France through France, or upon Spain and France, by ruining the trade and the harbours, and the colonies of both, she prepared to encounter her enemy in that very war of sieges in the Netherlands, which that enemy wished for.

State of Scotland.

IN Scotland, alone, the Queen was embarrassed in her government. The supplies granted in the late reign being temporary, were expired; so that there was no money in the Treasury to support either the civil government or the army; and the passions of the high and low alike against England, and English councils, on account of the sufferings of the Darien Company, fluctuated from rage to fullness, and from fullness to rage. In this situation, a regular state of a country party, similar to the country parties of England, started up: An appearance new in Scotland, except for a year or two after the Revolution, the only parties known there for five reigns, having been those of popery or reformation, of presbytery or episcopacy, of loyalist or rebel. But it was more formidable than the common country parties in England, because it comprehended almost the whole nation. These discontents gave advantage too for another party, hostile to Government, to increase in numbers, and in the open declaration of their sentiments; the friends of the exiled family, who exclaimed, that the wrongs which had been done to royalty in Scotland, had with vengeance been by heaven repaid. In order to settle all those ferments, the Queen, instead of imitating the open and simple manner and conduct of her predecessor, made use of the meanest and least efficient of all the arts of Government, the art of deceit. For, by her ministers, both in England and Scotland, she gave the most solemn assurances, that she was sincerely in the interest of her

brother, and would, in due time, do justice to it. In testimony of her sincerity she promised, and soon after published in Scotland, a pardon for all treasonable practices, and took measures to replace the Episcopal clergy in the churches, 350 of whom had been ejected soon after the Revolution, because they would not take the oaths to the new Government, and all of whom were consequently inimical to the cause which hurt them. She filled many places of honour and profit with the avowed partizans of her father, and gave a promise, which she soon after performed, to remove a ministry, composed of men who had never once, even in thought, swerved from the cause of the new Government, such as the Lords Marchmont, Melvil, Selkirk, Leven, and Hyndford.

BUT these arts could not deceive Fletcher of Salton, to whose opinions his countrymen looked up, because they knew he had no object but his country, and who said, that most kings were bad, but a woman king was the worst; nor the Duke of Hamilton, (formerly Earl of Arran) who had placed himself at the head, both of the country party, and of the Jacobites, and who, to great power of intrigue, joined all the flaming personal courage of his ancestors, the Douglas's, in whose family, by a singularity unparalleled in history, ten heroes succeeded to each other. Fletcher contrived, and presented to the Queen's ministers, his act of security, (afterwards so famous,) to make Scotland independent for ever of England, and English counsellors. The Duke of Hamilton insisted, that a new Parliament should be assembled, instead of one which he complained had been chosen in the popular whig ferment of the Revolution, had sat thirteen years contrary to all former precedent, and to the ancient constitution of Scotland, according to which Parliaments were annual, was by law dissolved by the death of the Sovereign *, and which never had been legal, because a convention could not be converted into a Parliament. And to his proposal the Duke added, that, on this account, all its acts should be declared null, and the government vested in the Queen, by a new act, in order to void the forfeiture of her brother. And then concealing one part of his plan from the country party, while he disclosed another, he proposed

* In the year 1696, an act had passed empowering the Parliament in being at the King's death, to continue six months after, in order to secure the Protestant religion, the succession to the crown, and the peace of the kingdom. But the Duke of Hamilton contended, that these ends having been attained by the Queen's accession, the Parliament was dissolved even under the terms of the act.

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to them, that Fletcher's act of security should be made the condition of the new settlement. But these proposals being rejected by the Queen's ministers, because they thought them both too bold and too refined, the Duke on the first day of the meeting of Parliament, which sat both Peers and Commons in one hall, struck the bold stroke of appearing there, where, all paying the respect to his rank of preserving silence till he spoke, he rose, and made a formal protest, delivered with a slow determined voice, and high air, against the meeting as illegal, and immediately left the House, attended by 80 Peers and Commoners, who were the greatest number in the House, and of the best families, estates and characters in the nation. They marched in a body, with a solemn pace, and in the ranks of Parliament, with the Duke of Hamilton at their head, first Prince of the blood, by act of Parliament next heir to the Crown after the descendants of James VI. and beautiful and graceful above them all, amidst the shouts of an innumerable multitude, from the Parliament-house to a tavern in the middle of the city, where they dined together, to knit the public by the ties of private union. The Dean and Faculty of Advocates, in a public act, declared the protest and the conduct of the seceding members, to be according to the constitution and to law. The Commissioner, the Duke of Queensberry, however, continued the session of Parliament, which declared it high treason to call the Queen's title, or the validity of the present Parliament in question, granted a supply to maintain the army, and reprimanded the Dean and Faculty of Advocates for the opinion they had given.

BUT these measures settled not the humours of men. The Earl of Marchmont whose forfeiture, for his accession to the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, had been repealed in the present Parliament, terrified by the advances of the Court to the Jacobite party, and by the idea of even pointing at making the acts of a Parliament void on which his all depended, made a motion to settle the Crown, in the event of the failure of the Queen and her issue, upon the family of Hanover. No one seconded him: It was received with a general hiss: And a motion even followed to commit him prisoner to the castle, for proposing to settle the Crown on the same head that was to wear the Crown of England, before the independence of Scotland upon England was settled. And the people, who are always ready to grasp at pretences for not paying taxes, refused to pay the supplies, under the excuse that they

were imposed by an illegal power : In consequence of which, little of the tax was levied, and that little, almost only by the violence of imprisonment and free quarters. Uncertain what to do, the Queen ordered the Parliament to be prorogued, and proceeded to the war, without one of the best arms of war, recruits and regiments as numerous as she pleased, from a country which made part of the same island, obeyed the same Sovereign, had the same interest with England, and whose inhabitants regarded war as an employment for profit, and as a pastime, because they loved it.

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IN the mean time, a dispute had arisen in the cabinet of England, concerning the mode of conducting the war. Lord Rochester pressed for a war by sea, to be directed against the trade and settlements of France and Spain, and that only a small force should be sent to protect the Dutch in the Netherlands, until it should appear that a greater was necessary. Lord Marlborough, on the other hand, because he was to command the allied army there, which was to consist almost totally of English and Dutch, insisted, that the great exertions of England should be made by land, and in the Netherlands. The Queen, distracted by the respect which she owed to her uncle's opinions, and her partiality to those of her favourite and his wife, following the course of all weak minds, hoped to please both parties, by sending a large army into the Netherlands, and a fleet, with a strong body of troops, to take Cadiz. But the compromise pleased not Lord Rochester, who said, "That it was a plan to have two land wars instead of one; that the capture of Cadiz was no attack upon the trade or settlements of France or Spain, and might serve the Emperor's family, but not the Queen of England." In a disgust, he threw up his Government of Ireland, retired from business, and left Lord Marlborough and his friends to lavish the treasures and blood of England, in a continental war, as they pleased.

Disputes
about the
mode of carrying on the
war.

THE war had begun the former summer in Italy, where Prince Eugene had taken Cremona in the night-time, by the stratagem of a priest opening a secret passage into the town, and lost it next morning, by the accident of an officer's exercising his troops early, which he brought to the relief of the town. By a singular fatality of war, Mareschal Villeroy, the commander in chief, was the almost only person of his army who was made prisoner. In the campaign of the present

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year, Lord Marlborough, at the head of the allied army of 60,000 troops, took with rapidity, Stephenfwaert, Venloo, Ruremond, and Leige on the Maese, by which the allies gained the command of the country between the Maese and the Scheldt. The Germans higher up took Keyservert and Landau, which connected the armies on the Maese and the Rhine. And in consequence of these two advantages, a way was opened for the allies to turn the war into the Netherlands, or France, or Germany, as they pleased. During these successes, the French army hovered round the allies, making attempts, and instantly withdrawing them, even although the Duke of Burgundy was for some time at its head, because it was tied down by the defensive plan which Lewis had resolved on. Treves and Traerbach were, however, taken by the French. One great battle was fought at Luzara, in Italy, and another at Fridlingen in Germany, where both sides claimed the victory, because both were defeated. But the young King of Spain, who was in the first of these battles, gained more than a victory, by raising his character in the eyes of his Spanish subjects, by a letter which, in his way to the army, he wrote to the Duke de Vendosme, who commanded it, not to fight till he should arrive, adding a gallant compliment, ingeniously expressed, “ that his high opinion of the Duke was “ best marked by his fear, lest, in his absence, the Duke should do too “ much*.”

THE rapid successes of Lord Marlborough, however, shewed Europe, that France was no longer what she had been, when, instead of losing towns, she took them every where, and instead of avoiding battles, fought for and won them. But as two months were consumed in the siege of Keyservert, and above three in that of Landau, Lewis considered the time lost to his enemies, as victories gained by himself, and calculated that, at the rate of two campaigns spent in two drawn battles, one town taken and retaken in Italy, two towns taken by each side in Germany, and four towns of no great strength and less preparation lost in the Netherlands, he and his enemies would grow gray-headed before the Spanish monarchy was wrested from his grandson. But a plan, which to be explained, implied disgrace, was not seen by his allies: And these losses which appeared greater, because they were new, detached the Duke of Wolfenbuttle from his alliance, publicly, and made the Duke of Savoy meditate defection in private.

* Lamberti, vol. II. p. 200.

B O O K II.

DISGRACE of the Fleet in the West Indies—Fate of Admiral Bembow and his Officers—Preparations for the Expedition to Cadiz—Description of Cadiz and its Bays—Five Circumstances relating to them—The Expedition disappointed, and Causes of it—Disorders at St Mary's—Description of Vigo and its Bays—Great Success in the Bay of Vigo, and Causes of it—Reflections.

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AS the two most useful, and perhaps sublime powers of the human mind, next to high sentiment, are invention and foresight, so, endued with these, the late King, though involved in difficulties from his earliest youth to his grave, extricated himself from them all. In consequence of the habit of exerting those powers, he had made preparations for the new war, even before his last Parliament had encouraged him to undertake it: And it was owing to this preparation that his successor began the war with so much ease, and so little appearance of effort, as to astonish Europe. Foreseeing the dangers to which the West Indies would be exposed from vicinity, and the junction of the French and Spanish powers in those regions, he had, in the last stage of his life, sent a fleet of ten ships of the line to protect them, under Admiral Bembow.

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First Steps of the new Reign.—State of Alliances in Europe.—State of the Queen at Home.—Relative State of the English and French Nations.—State of English Ministry.—State of French Ministry.—State of the French Army.—State of French Alliances, and of the Cevennes.—Combination of Circumstances, with personal Character.—The French King's Plan of War.—State of Scotland.—Dispute concerning the Plan of the War on the part of England.—Campaign on the Continent.

A. D. 1702.

THE public, which was more just to King William after his death, than it had been during his life, as often happens to the great and good, when their superiority can no longer create envy, watched the first moves of his successor's reign with a jealous curiosity, to discover whether her former differences with him left any traces of resentment against his memory. And, therefore, when Queen Anne, in her first speech to the two Houses, said, That her heart was *truly English*, and they should always find her a *strict and religious observer of her word*; and when the House of Commons, some time after, in an address of compliment, the words of which are always contrived to be agreeable to the private sentiments of a court, said, that the success of the first year of the war had *retrieved* the honour of the English name in war; all these expressions were ill received by the public, because it was thought, that the first alluded to the late King's partiality to foreigners; the next, to his grants of the Irish forfeitures, after it was

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pretended, that he had promised to Parliament not to make them ; and the last, to the success of his wars being tarnished with the frequency of his defeats. But these traces of resentment were soon overlooked, as the first sallies of pique in a woman, when, impelled by the ambition of Lord Marlborough, she was seen to follow exactly the footsteps which her predecessor had marked out for her, confirmed his alliances, declared war against France in two months after his death, and gave L. 100,000 for the service of the war, out of the revenue which Parliament had assigned to herself, although it was not larger than that of King William ; and when the national vanity was flattered by a compliment which the Dutch, the Germans, and the Emperor, well knew to pay to the passions of the Queen, and of her favourite the Earl of Marlborough, when they appointed him, who was an Englishman, and had never commanded above 3000 men, to be General of the allied army, over the heads of all their own, their old, and their famed Generals.

State of alliances in Europe.

THE interval between the death of Charles II. of Spain, and of King William, had been spent in negotiations and intrigues, in every court of Europe, great and little, to support or oppose the elevation of the House of Bourbon. When the result of all these was known within a year after William's death, it appeared that Spain, the Indies, the Spanish Netherlands, the Milanese, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, the Duke of Savoy, whose daughter the young King of Spain married to attach him to his cause, the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, and the Duke of Wolfenbuttle, were taken out of the scale of the allies in the first grand alliance, and thrown into that of France in the second : That Portugal, which had formerly been neutral, was now on the side of the House of Bourbon : That although the Swedes were not in the scale of the House of Bourbon, they were taken out of that of the allies, because Sweden was not obliged to hire troops to them, unless she herself enjoyed peace, which she never did during the course of the war : That the weight of the Turks was, by a peace, taken off the Emperor, but a much more troublesome enemy was preparing to be put in their place, by insurrections of his discontented subjects in Hungary. And, therefore, at first sight, it appeared to the world that the allies were overbalanced in the war.

BUT the new Sovereign of England possessed advantages at home, to which her predecessor had been a stranger. Her brother could not be played against her by France, as her father had been against King William, because he was only thirteen years of age. His friends submitted to her, because she had long kept a private connection with them and her father's family, would have been entitled by the constitution to be regent during her brother's minority, if she had not assumed the Crown, and therefore appeared, in their eyes, the proper person to hold the reins of Government, while he was unable to do so; and being childless herself, he could have no competitor in her heart, for her succession at least. Her religious sentiments, in favour of the Church of England, from her infancy to her grave; sentiments, in the sincerity and steadiness of which people put much confidence, when they engross a female breast, attached the Church party to her, and, consequently, that tory party which was connected with it. The confidence which she put in Lord Godolphin, who had contrived to get the confidence of the whigs, by pressing for that war with France, when he saw it was to be commanded by his connection, the Earl of Marlborough, which in the late reign he had, along with the tory party, opposed, and even lost his place in the Treasury, for opposing, added to the firmness of her resolution to support the late King's alliances against France, seemed to make her secure against the natural propensity of the whig party to opposition. But above all, the dexterous game, which, though a dangerous and unroyal one, King William had been obliged, by the selfishness of his subjects, to play between the two great parties of the nation, in which he turned whigs into tories, by giving them places and honours, and tories into whigs, by taking them back again, had weakened the distinction between both, and put it out of the power of zealots, on either side, to assume pretences to high principles of party, which the public believed to be insincere on all sides. Hence Lord Godolphin and Lord Marlborough, who were wise and moderate men, found it easy to form a great party, in the nation as well as in Parliament, consisting of moderate whigs and moderate tories, who met each other half way on principles, and the whole way on the measures, which the Queen should pursue in foreign politics. Even the distinction between whig and tory, might perhaps have worn away altogether in this reign, if the weakness of Queen Anne had not afterwards raised up, for her own and her people's vex-

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ation, a new distinction, that of high church and low church in its place. But the surest of all proofs of the concessions which parties made to each other, appeared when the whigs gave way to the tories, vindicating themselves from the imputation of their aversion to the war at the end of the late reign; for they concurred in an address, probably contrived by Lord Godolphin to justify himself, which boasted that the unanimity of the satisfaction of the House, "vindicated the gentlemen of England, who had, by the vile pretences of designing men, been traduced, and industriously represented, as false to her Majesty's allies, because they were true to the interests of their country:"—An apology from the tories, which was the more readily received by the Queen, because they seemed to have yielded to her, what they had refused to her predecessor. And thus both whigs and tories vied with each other, as generally happens on a new reign, which of them should please the new Sovereign, the most and the soonest.

State of the
English and
French na-
tion.

THE nation too was in more fortunate circumstances than it had been during the preceding war. France, in the course of that war, had, upon the calculations stated in Book V. of these Memoirs, spent near 350 millions Sterling, and lost 400,000 men, to which number ought to be added 50,000 more, out of one half of the French army, which, from a very unwise parsimony, had been disbanded on the confines of France, as soon as brought home at the peace from the different theatres of the war; and who, having no money to carry them forward, either enlisted in the neighbouring services, or settled in the neighbouring countries, by which they were lost to France, and gained mostly to the enemies of France *. But England had spent only 60 millions Sterling: And as her native troops and seamen were about 80,000, whereas those of France were near half a million, she had not lost a sixth part of the men that France had. The fleet of England was increased, while that of France was diminished. The merchant shipping and the customs, were greatly risen above what they were at the peace of Ryfwick †. But above all, the operations of

* *Vide* Mr Chalmer's estimate, which contains an exact and complete pattern for forming a barometer of the state of a great maritime nation.

† Feuquiers.

Mr Mountague, on public paper-credit, had opened the eyes of the nation to the greatness of its own resources, at a time when it did not owe above ten millions of debt, and when Lewis XIV. by the number of his wars, and the vanity and bad taste (which last is always expensive) of most of his buildings, and all his gardens, for near half a century, was staggering under an immense debt, which left him no resources, but in submitting to arts much beneath him to get money, and in the oppression and defrauding of his people. The meanest offices were sold by Government; for example, those of dividing and bundling up the hay for the use of the people of Paris *: And the salaries of higher offices, even of the King's Secretaries, were augmented, in consideration of money-advances by those who held them †: The plate was called in ‡: And the French Government, at one time raised the value of the coin ||, in order to make it go farther in public payments; and, at another time, sunk it, in order to force it into the mint, upon the promise of a recoinage at the standard value: But when the money was got there, a pretence was used, that the engines for coining were not quite ready, and a return was made, not in new coin, but in billets of State; a contrivance intended to gain, at the best, only a temporary relief, at the expence of a lasting disgrace, but which was attended with a much worse effect; for it put an instant stop to credit, both public and private §. The consequences of these things were, that Lewis paid an interest from twelve to fifteen *per cent.* for the little money he could procure in loans; and the billets of the Treasury passed in the spring of the year 1701, at a discount of ten, and in August, of fifty *per cent.* **: But the surest of all evidences of the distress of the French monarchy for money, are the three following facts: That in the year 1701, Lewis raised money, by turning many offices of honour, which were for life, or under reversion to the Crown, into offices of inheritance ††: In the year 1696, he sold five hundred letters of nobility: And from the beginning of the war, of the second grand alliance, the crosses of St Lewis, which because they were like the military crowns of the Romans, the rewards of military virtue, had thrown a spirit of emulation through the French armies, were publicly sold

* Gazette, October 13. 1701. † Ditto. ‡ Ditto, May 29. || Ditto, September 15.

§ Ditto. ** Ditto, May 5.; August 28. and September 15. †† Ditto, August 28.

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in public offices *. In a country, in which, at that time, family honours and military honours were every thing, and money nothing, in comparifon of either, thefe are the laft fubjects which Government would fell. From all thofe circumftances, it was obvious, that William, often defeated, never fubdued, inventive of refources, patient and perfevering, had given a fhake to the victorious and glittering Lewis on his throne, which could not fail to be felt by him in the next war he was to wage.

State of the
English Mi-
niftry.

BUT above all, the fervants of the Sovereign of England were more fortunate in their fituations, than thofe of Lewis XIV. Lord and Lady Marlborough poffeffed the abfolute dominion of the fpirit of a miftrefs, which being weak, naturally relied on that of others, and fond, relied on thofe whom fhe loved. Her hufband, the Prince of Denmark, equally paffive in his character, was at the head of the Admiralty, Lord Marlborough, at the head of the army, Lord Godolphin, whole fon was married to one of his daughters, at the head of the Treafury, and Lord Sunderland, whole fon was married to another of them, Secretary of State; Lady Marlborough was Groom of the Stole to the Queen, and therefore neareft, and continually fo, to her perfon; Lord Marlborough himfelf was a man of great beauty, talents for war and negotiation, and rendered popular in the nation, and even in Parliament, by the frowns of a court in the late reign: So that he was mafter of the navy, the army, the treafury, the ftate, the palace, the Parliament and the people; and as his plans of war and negotiation, becaufe he was both general and minifter, were not dictated by others, and the fupplies for executing them were furnifhed in a manner from his own houfe, he was completely mafter of both, without being embarraffed by the indolence, paffions, or interefts of others.

State of the
French Mi-
niftry.

WHEREAS, in France, the Minifters and Generals were difunited by their feparate interefts, and by court intrigues, Lewis XIV. grown felf-fufficient, by fuccefs, inftead of leaving the conduct of campaigns to his generals in the field, iffued orders to them from his cabinet-councils at Verfailles: And in that cabinet, Madam Maintenon,

* Feuquiers.

in whose apartment, to save the King the trouble of going elsewhere, his councils were generally held, often directed those measures, to which she pretended she was scarcely listening: A woman, perhaps, the most amiable and respectable in his kingdom, but who must have had as extraordinary a fortune in her politics, as in her marriage, if she had added a third example to the only two known in the history of the world, those of Zenobia and Queen Elisabeth, of women who had all the natural abilities, acquired talents, and courage of men, to rule great kingdoms: In consequence of these new councils of war, the generals were sometimes chosen according as their religious principles and practices agreed with those of Madam Maintenon, who was very devout, rather than according to the military powers of their minds.

ADD to this, that Lewis had outlived his great Generals and Ministers. Condé, Turenne and Luxemburgh were no more; and the public saw none who could fill their places, because the superiority of their talents had damped, as great superiority often does, the talents of others. Colbert, who, by his industrious and sagacious genius, had found treasures in the resources of trade and manufacture, to support his master's wars; Louvois, who, in the vigilance, sublimity and universality of his genius, had found for him magazines of arms and provisions every where, plans of offence and defence in war, fortifications, troops, and discipline to make those troops useful, were no more. Barbefieux succeeded, but unequally, to Louvois; vainly thinking that it is the mark of a man of genius, to be a man of pleasure, because Alcibiades was so; but forgetting that Barbelieux was not Alcibiades. To him succeeded Chamillard, raised by Madam Maintenon, to conduct the State, because he had conducted well the affairs of her convent of St Cyr, and who rashly ventured to fill, alone, the two great departments of Minister of finance and of war, which Colbert and Louvois had often confessed they could with difficulty find time to execute separately.

BUT the chief fatality which threatened Lewis, in entering into a new war, was that the discipline of his armies, that discipline to which the soldiers and commanders of Sparta, Rome and the late

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my.

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King of Prussia, owed their victories, which had been introduced by Louvois, died with him. In consequence of this dissolution, Monsieur Feuquiers relates, that high ranks were given to many, only in order to throw lustre on the general under whom they were to serve; and these again, in consequence of their promotions, were entitled, on other occasions, to insist for commands, for which they were not qualified; that regiments were given to boys of family, to command veteran officers of character; that the battalions were fallen from seven hundred to five hundred men, and the squadrons in proportion, and their officers pocketed the difference of the pay; and that even of these weak battalions and squadrons, the officers allowed many of their men to go to their homes, on giving their pay in return for the indulgence. Hence the generals were deceived in the number of troops they commanded: The consequence of which could not fail to be, that in the day of action, they either could not cover the ground with the numbers they intended; or if they did cover it, they were obliged either to lessen the number of their ranks, or to increase the distance of the men in them. The arms were often ill tempered, the clothing cold, the magazines late and ill supplied, from the connection between contractors and the public offices; the troops ill paid; and neither officers nor soldiers, from the colonel to the drummer, were kept to their duty.

State of
French alli-
ances, and of
the Ceven-
nes.

To those who looked forward to futurity, it appeared, that the allies of Lewis, so numerous at present, would soon prove the source of mischief to him: For what chance was there, that Portugal would continue to aggrandize Spain, her ancient oppressor; or the Duke of Savoy France, to endanger himself; or the Duke of Wolfenbottle long withstand enemies by whom he was every where surrounded? It was known too to some, that in the mountains of the Cevennes, there was a secret fire of enthusiasm among the Protestants, which the hands of England and Holland, if skilfully directed, might draw forth to the most mischievous explosions.

Combination
with personal
Character.

BUT by those who combined the presumptive effects of personal character, with those which follow from the state of actual circumstances, it was observed, that an exhausted kingdom, a king stricken into age, a pious wife settling sometimes the disputes of divines,

and sometimes of statesmen; a stripling grandson on the tottering throne of Spain; armies without discipline, allies whose interest it was to break their alliance, and a country which contained the seeds of religious discord within itself, were opposed to the genius of Lord Marlborough and Prince Eugene; to the public credit of England, which could turn paper into gold, at a time when France was playing tricks with her coin to deceive her people; to the wisdom of Holland, and of Fagel and Heinsus, the friends, scholars and imitators of King William in simplicity and utility of character; to the ambitious and able Emperor Leopold; to the Electors of Brandenburg and Hanover, impelled to support that cause, to which the one owed the title of King, and the other that of Elector, and hoped to owe that of king also; and to the vast numbers, the valour, order and obstinacy of the troops of most of the Germanic body.

Those who reasoned thus, reasoned well; for, in such a situation, had King William lived a few years longer, he had probably gained all the glories which the Duke of Marlborough did, and passed to posterity as the greatest general and politician that ever lived.

THE French King's own consciousness of these weaknesses, appeared in his preparations for the new war. He had made the war of the first grand alliance, an offensive one, and for that reason, sent six armies into the dominions of his enemies, and into the field. But he obviously began the war of the second grand alliance upon a defensive plan. He did not send above 10,000 men into Spain, under pretence that it was too far off to be attacked by its enemies. Instead of opposing the entry of the Germans into Italy through the Trentine, which he could easily have done, by taking possession of a trifling part of the Venetian territories, he placed garrisons in the Milanese, and ordered Marechal Catinat to remain with a small French army, between the Adige and the Po, against the army of the Emperor, in order to draw that Prince's troops to a greater distance from the side of France; but assigned as his reason, that in that quarter, he knew Catinat's army would be supported by the Spanish and Italian troops of the King of Spain. He sent only 25,000 men into Bavaria, to join the Elector, because he said he knew well, that the Elector's situation on the Danube, gave him sufficient power to torment

The French King's plan of war.

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the Emperor in the heart of his own dominions, without the aid of France; and he filled the strong places on the side of the Rhine, and of the Netherlands, with great garrisons, sending armies there rather to protect those towns, than to fight his enemies in the field, reflecting, that in nine years of the last war, when he possessed only a part of the towns of the Netherlands, he had lost almost none of them; and that now, when he possessed the whole, he could protract a war of sieges as long as he pleased. Unfortunately for England, she perceived not his plan, and instead of making a war upon France through France, or upon Spain and France, by ruining the trade and the harbours, and the colonies of both, she prepared to encounter her enemy in that very war of sieges in the Netherlands, which that enemy wished for.

State of Scotland.

IN Scotland, alone, the Queen was embarrassed in her government. The supplies granted in the late reign being temporary, were expired; so that there was no money in the Treasury to support either the civil government or the army; and the passions of the high and low alike against England, and English councils, on account of the sufferings of the Darien Company, fluctuated from rage to fullness, and from fullness to rage. In this situation, a regular state of a country party, similar to the country parties of England, started up: An appearance new in Scotland, except for a year or two after the Revolution, the only parties known there for five reigns, having been those of popery or reformation, of presbytery or episcopacy, of loyalist or rebel. But it was more formidable than the common country parties in England, because it comprehended almost the whole nation. These discontents gave advantage too for another party, hostile to Government, to increase in numbers, and in the open declaration of their sentiments; the friends of the exiled family, who exclaimed, that the wrongs which had been done to royalty in Scotland, had with vengeance been by heaven repaid. In order to settle all those ferments, the Queen, instead of imitating the open and simple manner and conduct of her predecessor, made use of the meanest and least efficient of all the arts of Government, the art of deceit. For, by her ministers, both in England and Scotland, she gave the most solemn assurances, that she was sincerely in the interest of her

brother, and would, in due time, do justice to it. In testimony of her sincerity she promised, and soon after published in Scotland, a pardon for all treasonable practices, and took measures to replace the Episcopal clergy in the churches, 350 of whom had been ejected soon after the Revolution, because they would not take the oaths to the new Government, and all of whom were consequently inimical to the cause which hurt them. She filled many places of honour and profit with the avowed partizans of her father, and gave a promise, which she soon after performed, to remove a ministry, composed of men who had never once, even in thought, swerved from the cause of the new Government, such as the Lords Marchmont, Melvil, Selkirk, Leven, and Hyndford.

BUT these arts could not deceive Fletcher of Salton, to whose opinions his countrymen looked up, because they knew he had no object but his country, and who said, that most kings were bad, but a woman king was the worst; nor the Duke of Hamilton, (formerly Earl of Arran) who had placed himself at the head, both of the country party, and of the Jacobites, and who, to great power of intrigue, joined all the flaming personal courage of his ancestors, the Douglas's, in whose family, by a singularity unparalleled in history, ten heroes succeeded to each other. Fletcher contrived, and presented to the Queen's ministers, his act of security, (afterwards so famous,) to make Scotland independent for ever of England, and English counsellors. The Duke of Hamilton insisted, that a new Parliament should be assembled, instead of one which he complained had been chosen in the popular whig ferment of the Revolution, had sat thirteen years contrary to all former precedent, and to the ancient constitution of Scotland, according to which Parliaments were annual, was by law dissolved by the death of the Sovereign *, and which never had been legal, because a convention could not be converted into a Parliament. And to his proposal the Duke added, that, on this account, all its acts should be declared null, and the government vested in the Queen, by a new act, in order to void the forfeiture of her brother. And then concealing one part of his plan from the country party, while he disclosed another, he proposed

* In the year 1696, an act had passed empowering the Parliament in being at the King's death, to continue six months after, in order to secure the Protestant religion, the succession to the crown, and the peace of the kingdom. But the Duke of Hamilton contended, that these ends having been attained by the Queen's accession, the Parliament was dissolved even under the terms of the act.

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to them, that Fletcher's act of security should be made the condition of the new settlement. But these proposals being rejected by the Queen's ministers, because they thought them both too bold and too refined, the Duke on the first day of the meeting of Parliament, which sat both Peers and Commons in one hall, struck the bold stroke of appearing there, where, all paying the respect to his rank of preserving silence till he spoke, he rose, and made a formal protest, delivered with a slow determined voice, and high air, against the meeting as illegal, and immediately left the House, attended by 80 Peers and Commoners, who were the greatest number in the House, and of the best families, estates and characters in the nation. They marched in a body, with a solemn pace, and in the ranks of Parliament, with the Duke of Hamilton at their head, first Prince of the blood, by act of Parliament next heir to the Crown after the descendants of James VI. and beautiful and graceful above them all, amidst the shouts of an innumerable multitude, from the Parliament-house to a tavern in the middle of the city, where they dined together, to knit the public by the ties of private union. The Dean and Faculty of Advocates, in a public act, declared the protest and the conduct of the seceding members, to be according to the constitution and to law. The Commissioner, the Duke of Queensberry, however, continued the session of Parliament, which declared it high treason to call the Queen's title, or the validity of the present Parliament in question, granted a supply to maintain the army, and reprimanded the Dean and Faculty of Advocates for the opinion they had given.

BUT these measures settled not the humours of men. The Earl of Marchmont whose forfeiture, for his accession to the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, had been repealed in the present Parliament, terrified by the advances of the Court to the Jacobite party, and by the idea of even pointing at making the acts of a Parliament void on which his all depended, made a motion to settle the Crown, in the event of the failure of the Queen and her issue, upon the family of Hanover. No one seconded him: It was received with a general hiss: And a motion even followed to commit him prisoner to the castle, for proposing to settle the Crown on the same head that was to wear the Crown of England, before the independence of Scotland upon England was settled. And the people, who are always ready to grasp at pretences for not paying taxes, refused to pay the supplies, under the excuse that they

were imposed by an illegal power : In consequence of which, little of the tax was levied, and that little, almost only by the violence of imprisonment and free quarters. Uncertain what to do, the Queen ordered the Parliament to be prorogued, and proceeded to the war, without one of the best arms of war, recruits and regiments as numerous as she pleased, from a country which made part of the same island, obeyed the same Sovereign, had the same interest with England, and whose inhabitants regarded war as an employment for profit, and as a pastime, because they loved it.

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IN the mean time, a dispute had arisen in the cabinet of England, concerning the mode of conducting the war. Lord Rochester pressed for a war by sea, to be directed against the trade and settlements of France and Spain, and that only a small force should be sent to protect the Dutch in the Netherlands, until it should appear that a greater was necessary. Lord Marlborough, on the other hand, because he was to command the allied army there, which was to consist almost totally of English and Dutch, insisted, that the great exertions of England should be made by land, and in the Netherlands. The Queen, distracted by the respect which she owed to her uncle's opinions, and her partiality to those of her favourite and his wife, following the course of all weak minds, hoped to please both parties, by sending a large army into the Netherlands, and a fleet, with a strong body of troops, to take Cadiz. But the compromise pleased not Lord Rochester, who said, "That it was a plan to have two land wars instead of one; that the capture of Cadiz was no attack upon the trade or settlements of France or Spain, and might serve the Emperor's family, but not the Queen of England." In a disgust, he threw up his Government of Ireland, retired from business, and left Lord Marlborough and his friends to lavish the treasures and blood of England, in a continental war, as they pleased.

Disputes
about the
mode of car-
rying on the
war.

THE war had begun the former summer in Italy, where Prince Eugene had taken Cremona in the night-time, by the stratagem of a priest opening a secret passage into the town, and lost it next morning, by the accident of an officer's exercising his troops early, which he brought to the relief of the town. By a singular fatality of war, Mareschal Villeroy, the commander in chief, was the almost only person of his army who was made prisoner. In the campaign of the present

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year, Lord Marlborough, at the head of the allied army of 60,000 troops, took with rapidity, Stephenswaert, Venloo, Ruremond, and Leige on the Maese, by which the allies gained the command of the country between the Maese and the Scheldt. The Germans higher up took Keyservert and Landau, which connected the armies on the Maese and the Rhine. And in consequence of these two advantages, a way was opened for the allies to turn the war into the Netherlands, or France, or Germany, as they pleased. During these successes, the French army hovered round the allies, making attempts, and instantly withdrawing them, even although the Duke of Burgundy was for some time at its head, because it was tied down by the defensive plan which Lewis had resolved on. Treves and Traerbach were, however, taken by the French. One great battle was fought at Luzara, in Italy, and another at Fridlingen in Germany, where both sides claimed the victory, because both were defeated. But the young King of Spain, who was in the first of these battles, gained more than a victory, by raising his character in the eyes of his Spanish subjects, by a letter which, in his way to the army, he wrote to the Duke de Vendosme, who commanded it, not to fight till he should arrive, adding a gallant compliment, ingeniously expressed, “ that his high opinion of the Duke was “ best marked by his fear, lest, in his absence, the Duke should do too “ much*.”

THE rapid successes of Lord Marlborough, however, shewed Europe, that France was no longer what she had been, when, instead of losing towns, she took them every where, and instead of avoiding battles, fought for and won them. But as two months were consumed in the siege of Keyservert, and above three in that of Landau, Lewis considered the time lost to his enemies, as victories gained by himself, and calculated that, at the rate of two campaigns spent in two drawn battles, one town taken and retaken in Italy, two towns taken by each side in Germany, and four towns of no great strength and less preparation lost in the Netherlands, he and his enemies would grow gray-headed before the Spanish monarchy was wrested from his grandson. But a plan, which to be explained, implied disgrace, was not seen by his allies: And these losses which appeared greater, because they were new, detached the Duke of Wolfenbuttle from his alliance, publicly, and made the Duke of Savoy meditate defection in private.

* Lamberti, vol. II. p. 200.

BOOK II.

DISGRACE of the Fleet in the West Indies—Fate of Admiral Bembow and his Officers—Preparations for the Expedition to Cadiz—Description of Cadiz and its Bays—Five Circumstances relating to them—The Expedition disappointed, and Causes of it—Disorders at St Mary's—Description of Vigo and its Bays—Great Success in the Bay of Vigo, and Causes of it—Reflections.

Anno 1702.

AS the two most useful, and perhaps sublime powers of the human mind, next to high sentiment, are invention and foresight, so, endued with these, the late King, though involved in difficulties from his earliest youth to his grave, extricated himself from them all. In consequence of the habit of exerting those powers, he had made preparations for the new war, even before his last Parliament had encouraged him to undertake it: And it was owing to this preparation that his successor began the war with so much ease, and so little appearance of effort, as to astonish Europe. Foreseeing the dangers to which the West Indies would be exposed from vicinity, and the junction of the French and Spanish powers in those regions, he had, in the last stage of his life, sent a fleet of ten ships of the line to protect them, under Admiral Bembow.

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BUT it is a true observation, that the exertions of service are exactly in proportion to the vigilance of the Sovereign or his Ministers over them. Queen Elizabeth had been vigilant to every department of the State; in consequence of which, she was well served in every one of them. James the First, amidst his scholarcraft and his kingcraft, neglected both the sea and land service of his kingdom: the consequence was, that both fell into disgrace in the eyes of Europe. His successor, obliged by necessity to raise and to lead troops, recovered the reputation of the English arms by land; but the same necessity disabled him to attend to the sea-service, and it scarcely had a name in his reign. Cromwell, more fortunate in situation, succeeded to the command of armies in good order; and then extended his care and attention to the fleet, by which he shook Europe with the terror of English arms by land and by sea. Charles the Second, who had a natural genius for naval affairs, and therefore attended to them, enabled the navy of England to defy the fleets of Holland, France, and part of the North, joined against him. James the Second, in his short reign, attended to both services for the benefit of one who he little thought was to reap it. But King William, by his predilection for the land service more than the other, had weakened the spirit of that other. Of this he felt the effects, when, offering the command of the West-India fleet to different Officers, they had excused themselves under different pretences, to avoid the danger of the climate and of the service. It is a story current among the seamen, that the King, who like other Dutchmen did not dislike a pun, said, 'Well, since these beaux will not go, I must apply to honest Bembow;' and that when he was making an apology to that Admiral for desiring him to return to the West-India station, from which he had lately come, Bembow interrupted him with an answer, which imported, that he did not understand apologies to an Officer, whose part it was to obey, as it was the King's to command. The same effects, either of effeminacy of spirit, or of disorder in service, or rather perhaps of both (for the two go commonly together) in the Officers of the navy, appeared in the first sea-action of the new war: For, Bembow having received intelligence that the French fleet was in the seas in which King William had expected it would be, went in quest of it, and on the 19th of August found it on the coast

coast of St Martha, commanded by Du Casse in a noble 74 gun ship, but the rest of the force was inferior to the English. Bembow hung out the signal of battle, and engaged: But three of his Captains, Kirkby, Wade, and Constable, fell astern, under the same excuse which in West-India seas, where calms and breezes are instantaneous in succession, and partial in the space that they occupy, every Officer may find at hand for not fighting; the excuse, that a sudden calm prevented them from coming up. The French, however, fled. Next day, Bembow overtook them, and renewed the engagement; but the ship of Capt. Walton, afterwards so famous for his laconic account of the destruction of the Spanish fleet off Syracuse, was disabled, and he was sent off to Jamaica to refit. Notwithstanding this loss, Bembow continued the pursuit and the engagement the same day and the next, but without success, because his three Captains still kept their distance. On the fourth day, it was observed that the French Admiral's ship was disabled, and Bembow boarded her three times. The rest of the English fleet then came up and attacked her: but the three Captains finding more resistance than they expected, again retired; and the rest of the French fleet coming to their Admiral's assistance, he was saved. In this last action, Bembow's leg was shattered with a ball. He was carried below fainting, and his leg cut off: But he gave orders for the couch on which he lay to be carried to the quarter deck, and seeing the three Captains not in action, fired on them to bring them into it: But they still not advancing, he ordered all his Captains on board, who advised him not to engage any more; and Kirkby persuaded Capt. Fag the Admiral's Captain, and Capt. Vincent, to sign a paper with him, that they would not continue the engagement a fifth time: the consequence of which was, that the French fleet escaped.—One of Bembow's friends lamenting the loss of his leg, 'I would rather have lost them both (said he) than seen the disgrace of this day.'

BEMBOW brought several of his Captains to a Court Marshal in Jamaica, of which he refused to be President, because he said he was conscious he could not be an impartial judge. Kirkby and Wade were condemned to be shot. Constable escaped the same sentence, by a premature death. But Fag and Vincent were only suspended, because

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Bembow, in his evidence, generously declared that they had behaved gallantly in the engagements, and that he imputed their signing Kirkby's paper to a belief that success among cowards was impossible. Bembow soon after died of his wounds, applauding the valour of the French, and lamenting the want of it in his own countrymen. The only proper punishment for cowards is death, because they fear it more than shame; and therefore Kirkby and Wade were shot as soon as they came on the coast of England. Their relations, who were of good families, observed, that as their courage had been hitherto unimpeached, their fault had arisen from a desire to pull down the character of a Commander, who being of a rough temper, had treated them with roughness; an excuse more dangerous to service than cowardice itself.

Preparations
for the Ex-
pedition to
Cadiz.

IN the mean time, the confederate fleet of England and Holland had left the coast of England on the 29th of July, and arrived before Cadiz on the 12th of August: the greatest armament that ever sailed along the western coast of Europe; for, it consisted of fifty English and Dutch line of battle ships, thirty-eight frigates, twenty ordnance ships, with a number of other vessels of war*, and carried fourteen thousand English and Dutch land-forces, which were commanded by the Duke of Ormond. The fleet was commanded by Sir George Rooke, upon whom, in order to give him greater state, the commission of Vice-Admiral was conferred; and no higher could be conferred, because the Queen's husband bore the title of Lord Admiral. Then appeared a second time, within the compass of two years, the importance of the command of the sea to England; for, at the sight of so vast an armament sailing along the coast of Portugal, the King took measures to detach himself from the alliance of France and Spain, under the excuse that they had promised that protection to his capital, which it was visible they were not able to give. It was singular in the fortune of Rooke, the son of a country gentleman in England, to be the same Admiral who made one Sovereign in the North, and another in the South, bend to the flag of England, when they beheld it waving over the capitals of Denmark and Portugal. But the greatness of the preparations (unlike

* Sir George Rooke's Examination.

(unlike to those of King William against Denmark, all of whose plans of war had order and proportion in them) contributed to hurt the expedition against Cadiz: For, the bay of Cadiz was not capable of containing one half of the armament; and the rest of it was obliged to lie exposed in the ocean on the south side of Cadiz, where a single stormy night might have annihilated the maritime power of England and Holland. The Commanders in Chief, too, discorded: Rooke, supercilious, as all the seamen of that age were, despising the inexperience of the Duke; perhaps too (a thing not unusual among the country gentlemen of England) proud to show that he despised his rank; and the Duke, provoked by that air of superiority which the experience of Rooke made him think himself entitled to assume. Rooke had, besides, disapproved from the beginning, of the expedition itself*; and perhaps thought, without being sensible himself of the meanness of indulging such a thought, that the credit of his opinion would be called in question, if the enterprise should be attended with success.

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THE situation of Cadiz and its two bays, which it is of much importance to England to know with minuteness, is attended with the five following circumstances:

Description
of Cadiz and
its bays.

I. One side of the two bays of Cadiz both outer and inner, is formed by a narrow neck of land which runs into the western ocean, three miles in length, from a place called the Pillars of Hercules, and in some places not two hundred yards in breadth. At the western extremity of this neck the town of Cadiz stands, well fortified towards the land on the east, and towards the bay on the north; but not towards the ocean on the south; because attacks have been dreaded from the land and from the bay, but not from the ocean, on account of the danger to which shipping lying in an open sea would be exposed. The landing on this neck is possible from the bay in some places, but easy from the ocean in different places, and particularly in the mouth of the river St Pedro, two miles east of the Pillars of Hercules, because in those places the water is shallow on the shore for the boats to land, deep on the coast for the ships to protect them, and the anchorage safe for both.

First Circum-
stance.

* Burnett.

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both.—The space of ground allotted by nature for the town, which is confined by the sea on three sides, and by the necessary fortifications on the fourth, is so small, that there is no room in the town for the markets, store-houses, magazines of provisions, cellars, and other accessories of food for man and beast customary in other great cities: And therefore Cadiz receives its food from day to day, not within itself, nor from the land around itself, but from the Continent, and along the narrow neck of land on which it stands, or from the fisheries in the sea.—Lastly, Placed in a manner in the middle of the ocean, it enjoys no springs of fresh water, but is obliged, when rain water saved in reservoirs fails, to be supplied with water from the port of St Mary's on the opposite side of the bay on the north.

From those various circumstances it follows, that to a lodgment of troops on the neck of land to cut off provisions, and to a fleet stationed in the bay to cut off water in a season of drought, Cadiz must yield without either the one or the other firing a gun; and few troops will be required, because the neck of land is narrow, and one of their flanks will be protected by the bay, and the other by the ocean.

Second Circumstance.

II. FROM want of space, the streets are exceeding narrow: And from the same cause, the houses are high, consisting of many stories, and the roofs flat; for, people build in the air, who cannot build on the ground, and are obliged to enjoy the open air on the tops of their houses, when they cannot do so in streets, where every passenger jostles with another. Eighty thousand inhabitants in Cadiz are crowded together on a spot which would scarcely be occupied by ten thousand any-where else.

HENCE there is no town in Europe more exposed to mischief from a bombardment than Cadiz; for, a heavy bomb falling on the flat roof of a house, would break through several, or bursting in a narrow street filled with people, would destroy multitudes: And the bombardment is safe, because the vessels would keep their station while the weather was good, and retire into the bay when it changed; and the coast on that part of the south of the town from whence bombs could reach it, is

is deep: It is rocky indeed; but chains instead of cables fixed to the anchors, would prevent the accidents to which ropes are exposed among rocks.

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Third Cir-
cumstance.

III. THE outer bay of Cadiz is separated from the inner bay called the Pointal, which serves as a road for the ships when they do not lie in the outer bay, by two points of land, which approach so near as to be about seven hundred yards from each other. On these points there are two forts; one of which on the south is called St Laurent, the other on the north Matagorda; and near to this last, within the inner bay to the east, there is a small fort on a small island called St Louis. At the east side of the Pointal stand the Caraccas and docks, which comprehend the magazines and naval stores of Spain, receive the wealth of the West Indies, Spanish Main, South Seas, and Philippines, of the Spanish Monarchy; and where the Royal Navy is built and careened. The Caraccas and docks are weakly defended, because Cadiz, and the forts at the narrows between the two bays, are deemed to be its best defenders.—When a Spanish fleet of war lies in the inner bay, the ships lie in a row at the end of each other, from some circumstance in the current, depth, or anchorage, which makes it necessary for them to do so, or perhaps from a desire to make their movements more easy, and less subject to disorder in a bay, in which, because land-locked, the winds must be variable; and for the most part they lye in the same order also in the outer bay, probably for the same reasons. The tide is rapid and full, and rises ten feet high. The mouth of the outer bay lies fair from the ocean, and from the prevailing wind, the western, the force of which is increased by its being confined by the two sides of the bay through which it rushes: And from the mouth of the bay, the passage runs almost in a straight line to the outmost point of the Pointal; the outer being about six miles in length, in a round form; and the inner similar in its form to the outer, but inferior both in length and breadth. So that nothing can stop a fleet in the outer bay till it comes to the forts at the narrow passage. If these are passed, nothing can stop it till it comes to the Caraccas. And with a strong tide, wind, and sea, it will go with extreme velocity from the extremity of the one bay to that of the other.

FROM

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Third Cir-
cumstance

FROM hence it follows, that a squadron (for only a squadron, not a fleet, is required) of clean English ships, with fire-ships in their train, under pretence of going to Gibraltar, the Mediterranean, or any-where else near the same rout, might, without danger, destroy a Spanish fleet of far superior number, and force the Caraccas; because such a squadron, advancing in what order it pleased to form, could attack the Spanish ships one by one, and one ship with several; or if these ships tacked, their tacks behoved, in a narrow space, to be short; and in every tack the English seamen would have the advantage, because more expert in working ships than the Spaniards. The same want of room would put it out of the power of the enemies to avoid the fire-ships: And if they retired into the Pointal, the squadron, by receiving from the forts a single fire, and no more, to each ship, and none at all to some, might follow them, and find still greater advantages in a smaller than in a larger space of action.

BUT if after all they should miss their blow, the same tide which at the flood had carried them into Cadiz bay, would at the ebb carry them out again, even though the wind was from the west, if it was not very strong. For, in the war before last, Capt. Clements made an attack upon three zebeques lying before St Mary's, retired with the tide, returned next morning with it, attacked again, and retired with safety; although there was a Spanish fleet in the bay looking on, but which, because the ships were unwieldy, and the seamen on shore, as is commonly the case in all Spanish ports, could not be got ready in time enough to intercept him.

Fourth Cir-
cumstance.

IV. IF an attack should be limited to the ships in the Pointal, and to the Caraccas and docks, there are two circumstances which favour it. The first is, That the distance upon the neck of land between the Ocean and the Pointal, is not two hundred yards over, and the passage so flat that at the earthquake of Lisbon the two waters met; and from the side within the Pointal, a large space of the bay is so shallow as to be dry at low water: From whence it follows, that batteries erected on that narrow space, either in the common way of breaking ground, or by using

sacks

sacks of earth, could reach ships in their passage going out or in from the outer into the inner bay, and by the greater weight of guns which might be landed of any size, could destroy any ships of war that were brought to bear upon them, most of which, from the shallowness of water, could not be ships of size; and it also follows, that boats could be conveyed over upon rollers to the Pointal, where, from the protection of their own batteries, and the shallowness of the water, they could be safe, and yet, filled with combustibles, might make their excursions during the night, or even in the day-time, to set fire to the shipping, docks, or any other object they could reach. In both cases, the batteries on the neck, and the boats in the shallows of the Pointal, might receive protection from the shipping on the south of the neck.—The second circumstance is, That troops landed from the side of the Ocean, at the mouth of the river of St Pedro, which connects with the Caraccas a few miles off, and with the docks, which are near half-way between the mouth of the river and the Caraccas, might attack both of them on the land side: And the troops on their march from the mouth of the river to the docks and Caraccas, would have one flank covered by the river, and at the same time protect their small craft, which, in a depth of two to three fathoms, could bring up all military stores and provisions for their use.

V. To protect Cadiz and its bays, requires a far greater force than Spain has to spare. Even a great force separated in six different places, *to wit*, the Town, the three Forts, the Caraccas, and the Docks, which could give no aid to each other, would be distracted, and fall victims piecemeal to an enemy, who could direct his whole force to one or two objects alone.

Fifth Circumstance.

THESE circumstances have remained the same for two centuries past, during all which time the fleets of England, with a cruel satyr upon their Admirals and Admiralties, have passed and repassed Cadiz without ever once thinking to take advantage of them. But what was formerly not difficult, is become much easier now, since Mr Millar's invention and improvements upon the carronade gun, the largest of which, to throw ball of an hundred pounds weight above two miles, does

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not weigh a 24 pounder gun; and the small ones, such as the six pounders, are so light, that one of them with its carriage can be born upon a couple of poles by two men carrying their arms slung at the same time. Thirty or forty of those large carronades placed on the narrow neck of land to the east of Cadiz, would defend it against a host of enemies, and bar all sallies from the town, because the shot, when the guns are charged with cannister, falls in a sheet fourteen hundred feet in length, nearer or further off according to the different gravities of the parts of which it is composed, and therefore would mow down a column of troops, which in that narrow space could advance only in columns. The same carronades would reach Cadiz, and throwing balls of 100 pounds weight, to fall upon the flat roofs of houses six or seven stories high, would destroy all below them*.

THE

* In the late War, there was a party in the Army and Navy for and against these carronades, in consequence of which they were little used. But, in those parties, it was observable that all the men of genius and invention were on the one side, and the dunces and pedants on the other. The latter party were lucky in this respect, that in a new invention the carriages were not at first properly contrived, and therefore the guns bounced. But that defect has since been remedied, or certainly may be remedied. This invention, amidst all its horrors, may prove beneficial to mankind; because, by the use of general and equal destruction, it may force Nations to keep peace with each other. But at any rate, it is of the last importance to Britain, because it presents her with a shield to guard her only vulnerable parts, her docks, and other maritime places which cannot be turned into fortresses without danger to liberty at home, nor left as they are without being exposed to insult from abroad; one of which, in time of war, requires a fleet stationed to defend it, instead of annoying the enemy, when that enemy, I mean France, needs no such protection, because her fortified maritime places defend themselves. To persons of philosophical minds, at a distance from politics, and all those politicians who keep men of genius always at a distance from men in power, it was an amusement of late (though a painful one) to see one-half of the Engineers, Generals, Admirals, and makers of bad speeches for or against Ministers, disputing in Parliament how to begin to misapply millions at home, after millions had been misapplied abroad, for the purpose of making bad fortifications worse, when a few hundred carronades, throwing the weight of 100 pounds, and judiciously disposed, could guard the forts of England, and of her dominions, against the attacks of the Universe. Can it be believed that any ship will approach a battery of guns which throw balls of such a weight that a few of them striking the hull will sink a ship, or throw a sheet of cannister shot, one of which going across a deck, will clear it both of men and cordage?

THE Spaniards were so conscious of the weakness of Cadiz, that when the confederate fleet under the Duke of Ormond and Sir George Rooke arrived there, they learned that the Spaniards had sent all their valuable effects across the bay to Port St Mary's. Four ships of war of sixty guns, with eight galleons, had retired into the Pointal. An Englishman in that age, could not hear the words *Spanish effects* pronounced without associating with them the idea of mountains of gold and silver. The fleet and army were therefore alike disappointed to hear that their prey had escaped them, but reanimated when they heard that it was no further off than St Mary's; and the ideas of honour gave place to those of avarice in all. The gunners declared that their bombs could not reach the town; the soldiers, that the landing on the neck was not safe; the engineers, that no lodgement could be made there; the seamen, (with the exception of Rear Admiral Sir Stafford Fairbairn, who offered to run through the narrows if any other would follow him), that the passage into the narrows was dangerous, because defences had been thrown across it, by sinking vessels and anchors; the pilots, that the mouth of the river St Pedro was neither deep nor safe; and some of the Captains of ships who lay between Cadiz and St Catharine's, complained that they were exposed to the enemy's fire, though the places were above four miles asunder. But all agreed, and Sir George Rooke among the rest, that a landing at Port St Mary's was the sure way to reach Cadiz, by marching round the bay to it. The Duke of Ormond, almost alone, pressed for an attack upon the town either by land or sea, perhaps remembering that he was in the same situation with the gallant Earl of Essex in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who had like him been opposed by his Council in his wish to attack Cadiz, had at last prevailed with them, and when he did so, threw his hat into the air in a transport of gallant joy. But the Duke's pressing instances in Council, and out of Council, proved fruitless. He was distracted too by the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, formerly Viceroy of Catalonia, who assured him, that if he gave the delay of a week or two to the Spaniards, they would yield to their natural bias against France; by Rooke, who taking advantage of the terms of the manifesto published in Spain by orders from England*, put him in mind, that he was to defend, not destroy the towns of the Queen's

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Ally,

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The Expedition disappointed, and Causes of it.

* Manifesto published in Gazette of September 10. 1702.

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Ally, and therefore not to bombard Cadiz; and by letters from Mr Methuen Ambaffador in Portugal, who, being generous himself, said, that the best way to conquer Spain was by generosity. Yet the Duke for some days still delayed quitting Cadiz; and in the mean time Rooke, confined to his cabbin by the gout, or pretending to be so, heard of his agonies with a fullen indifference, and with the same indifference gave orders to his ships to protect the landing on the Continent opposite to Cadiz, when the Duke had at last been prevailed upon to land there.

THE troops were landed in the bay of Bulls, and near a week spent in taking the fort of St Catharine's, and other forts there. When the Duke came first to the bay of Cadiz, he had summoned the Governor of Cadiz, the Duke of Villadarias, to surrender: With a Spanish spirit the Governor answered, 'That he would follow the generous examples of his ancestors, who had never owed their elevation to the blood or exile of their Kings*.' The Duke, irritated by an answer which reproached him with the desertion of his Sovereign and his General in the hour of need, threatened the Commandant of St Catharine's, that he would hang him if he did not surrender. The Commandant answered with Spanish gravity, 'That it was much the same whether he was hanged for keeping the fort, or for giving it up; but that he would die rather by the hands of his foes, than his friends.'

Disorders at
St Mary's.

WHEN the soldiers and seamen arrived at last at St Mary's, they found that the Spaniards had removed all the effects which had been brought from Cadiz back into the country. Enraged and disappointed in the favourite passion of all armed bodies, love of plunder, they gave a loose to the other two passions, which are the most habitual to them, love of wine and of women. They broke open the cellars, where they became intoxicated with the Spanish wines, the sweetness of which enticed them, and the strength of which they did not suspect; and then committed all the disorders of war, plundering the town and country, insulting churches, and ravishing the women. They forced the nunneries, as they said, to drive the priests out of them; and the monasteries, because they expected to

* Lamberti, Vol. II. page 252.

to find them filled with nuns. In this general disorder there was no difference between foldier and feaman, and very little between officer and private man, except that the men plundered the enemy, and the officers the men, under pretence of giving redrefs. The Duke of Ormond was too young in command to have fufficient authority, and Rooke did not exert his. Befides, all authority was fruitless againft drunkards and madmen, who knew not that they received punifhment, even while it was inflicting. In vain the Queen afterwards lamented to Parliament, the difgrace which that day brought upon her arms and the nation. In vain one of the Generals, Sir Henry Bellafis, was cashiered; and another, Sir Charles O'Hara, loft his character. The affections of the Spaniards, once loft, could never be recovered, during all the courfe of the war, to an army, which their priests told them was compofed, not of men, but of devils, becaufe they were heretics.

THE Duke of Ormond, imputing thefe exceffes to the contagion of multitudes, divided his army next day, and fent part of it to attack Fort Malagorde; but that part quickly returned, becaufe not more than four pieces of cannon could be carried with it on account of marfhes in the paffage, and becaufe it was found that the tide flowed round the fort: And then all the diforders of the foldiery returned with it, increafed from the fhortnefs of the interruption, and their fense of its caufe. But, the third day, languor, dejection, filence and fhame, came in their place, made more difmal by the frequency of punifhment, which almoft all knew they had deferved. To thefe fucceeded bad humour with themfelves and each other, which infected even the Commanders in Chief.

THE armament failed foon after for England, difhonoured, dejected, every man laying the blame on his neighbour to throw it off himfelf, and preparing to make his complaint in England of the mifbehaviour of all, when they met Captain Hardy at fea, who had learned from the blabbing vanity of a French Conful in the Bay of Lagos, that the Spanifh galleons, with an immense treasure from the South Seas, had got fafely into Vigo, under the protection of a fleet of his countrymen.

Description
of Vigo and
its Bays.

It

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Great success
in the Bay of
Vigo.

It was instantly resolved in a Council of War, to turn the course of the fleet and army to Vigo. At the sound of treasures from the South Seas, dejection and animosity ceased; and those who a few days before would not speak when they met, now embraced and felicitated each other. The Bays of Vigo very much resemble those of Cadiz; for, there is an outer and inner bay separated by two points of land which approach near to each other, and on which there are forts in the same way as in the entry to the Pointal at Cadiz, and the town lies in the outer bay. The French and Spaniards had made the resemblance still more complete: for, on hearing that the confederate fleet had turned its course towards Vigo, they withdrew all their ships into the inner bay; and besides the same obstructions which had been made use of in the passage between the two bays at Cadiz, they threw a boom across the passage at Vigo between the two bays. In one respect the situation of the bays at Vigo is inferior to those of Cadiz, that they are commanded by heights. But of this advantage, because it was a flow one, the confederate armament made no use: for, when the fleet entered the outer bay, and saw the French fleet, and the treasures of Spain, locked up in the inner bay, and incapable of escape except by their own valour, all the difficulties which had appeared to be mountains at Cadiz, dwindled down into mole-hills at Vigo. The gunners agreed, that their bombs could reach the town and shipping; the engineers, that lodgements and works could easily be made; the soldiers, that there was no danger in landing; the seamen, that the passage at the narrows could easily be forced, notwithstanding all its defences and obstructions; and the pilots, that the depth of the water was every where sufficient, and anchorage safe. Rooke's gout incommoded him no longer: He went from ship to ship even in the night-time, and became civil. And the Duke, with his father's generosity, his brother's and his own, forgot all that was past.

It was resolved, that all at one time the ships should batter the town of Vigo in the outer bay; the bomb vessels bombard it and the shipping in the inner bay; the troops land on the same side of the bay with Vigo, but pass the town, in order to get the more speedily at the enemy's ships;
one

one part of them to attack one of the forts which defended the passage between the two bays, while the other part was to pass that fort, and march along the side of the inner bay, in order to annoy with artillery the shipping; and the vessels of war to force their entry into the inner bay, notwithstanding the forts, and obstructions between the forts. In order to animate the army, the Duke landed with the first body; and to animate the fleet, all the Admirals quitted their flags, and went on board such of the small ships as could approach nearest where the danger was greatest. The boom was burst by the flock of the ships of war striking against it in their passage, amidst all the fire of the enemy's forts and ships. But the entry of the fleet was delayed for some time, by the accident of Admiral Hopson's ship, which had been the first to break the boom, and pass in, being set in fire by a French fire-ship. When the flames reached near the powder-room, the seamen leaped into the sea, where above an hundred of them were drowned; but their Commander went calmly to the place, and extinguished the fire.—The troops at the fort in the mean time meeting with difficulties, the Spaniards, who observed it, opened a gate to make a fall upon them; but in that instant, a small body of English grenadiers rushed to the gate, and secured it till their companions joined and entered with them. The French and Spaniards seeing the passage between the bays forced, one of the forts that guarded it stormed, several of the enemy's ships in the inner bay, a great fleet of them in the outer bay, and an army marching along the shore with artillery that could reach them, resolved to burn their own fleet, that it might not fall into the hands of their enemies; the most gallant of all the French Admirals, Chateauneuf, shewing the way to his squadron. A singular spectacle was then presented to the Spanish inhabitants, who were gathered on the heights round the bay; the Spanish and French seamen and soldiers endeavouring to destroy their own ships, and the English and Dutch to save them, and both sides intent upon their work alone, and not to annoy each other, except when their mutual interruptions forced them to encounter. In this struggle nine French ships of war were burnt, of which four were of the line, and ten taken, of which eight were of the line; and of the Spanish galleons, from 20 to 40 guns, eleven were taken, and six destroyed.

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stroyed. It was believed that twenty millions of pieces of eight were on board : But the real amount of the treasure was never known, because much was sunk, much secreted by those who took it, and the French and Spanish Crowns seized what had been saved in the struggle, under pretence of accounting for it to the merchants to whom most of it belonged, but in reality from the necessity of their affairs ; for, though security was by public declaration promised to the merchants, they never got it.

THE animosity between the Commanders in Chief, which had been suspended by the prospect of wealth and glory, revived on the enjoyment of them. Rooke, on the day after his success, without any previous advertisement or preparation, wrote to the Duke of Ormond, that he was to send the great ships and bomb vessels immediately to England ; adding these words, ‘ I offer it to your consideration, ‘ whether yourself will not think it proper, now all probability of ‘ service is over, to take this opportunity of the great ships of going ‘ home yourself.’ The Duke answered, that if Rooke would leave him ships enough, he would attack Vigo, and if he took it, winter there. Rooke’s reply was in these words : ‘ I will venture to leave ‘ five or six frigates with you : I can also leave your Grace six weeks or ‘ two months provisions for the army, which is all I can do.’ This offer put a speedy end to the correspondence, by the Duke’s writing that he would be ready to sail next day. And he left Spain with his army *, for the same reason that every army will leave every part of Spain except that which lies on the coast of the Mediterranean, want of provisions, and of every necessary of life. Hopson got a pension instead of honour ; the Commanders in Chief, the trinket of thanks from Parliament, which could not be refused ; and the Duke of Ormond, an honourable exile in the government of Ireland, and the envy of the Duke of Marlborough, which stopped his farther advances in glory, and at an after period ended in the fall of both.

Reflections. THE success of Vigo might have pointed out to England, then and since, that the proper direction of war against Spain, was against her harbours,

* Examination in Lords Journals.

harbours, because her ports of Alicant and Carthagenà are commanded by heights, and poorly defended to the land; Cadiz was a prize not difficult to be seized; the weakness of Vigo had been exposed; and there were no other fortified harbours in Spain of any consequence, except Gibraltar, which was soon after taken; Barcelona, into which no vessel carrying above 40 guns can enter; Ferrol, where ships are destroyed by the worm, because its bottom is foul; and all the places of safety in the Bay of Biscay were of little consequence, because too much within land from the running of the coast of Spain away to the west. In the South Seas, their dominions were in the same condition in which they are at this hour; because, from causes natural and political, their condition continues always the same: For, of the few fortifications which they have there, most were built of mud walls, partly from indolence, and partly because in some provinces no stone is to be found; their guns honeycomb'd, from the hot and dry nature of the air in some places, in which no showers of rain are ever to be seen; the shot and shells cracked, rusted, or wasted, from the same causes, so as to be of little effect by the windage to which those defects give an opening; the carriages of many of the guns split, or rotten, from the heat of the weather, and the difficulty of procuring proper wood to repair or replace them, in some places, where no wood grows; the musquets and their ball in the same condition; and the powder weakened in its quality by the length of the passage from Europe, and the alternate succession of extreme heat and extreme dews; two or three ships of war stationed off Lima; two or three thousand soldiers scattered along a sea-coast four thousand miles in length; and the inhabitants of the whole empire as weak and as fearful as women, from the relaxing nature of the climate, and because they never heard the sound of war*. What could have been done at that time even by

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private

* I was at Lisbon in the late war, when France persuaded Spain to order the English merchants to leave Spain, and then sent them an invitation to settle in France, which obliged many of them to take shelter in Lisbon till they should resolve what to do. In consequence of this accident, I had occasion to see many British subjects who had lately

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private persons, and can be done at any time by them, against so feeble a foe, may be seen in the Appendix, No. I. which contains an account of an intended expedition into the South Seas by private persons in the late war, and which I publish for the sake of two nations whose interests are the same, and whose affections (at least if the affections of the English to the Spanish nation can be guessed from those of the Spaniards to the English) are mutual: I say, for the sake of Spain, that she may know the dangers to which she will expose herself by quarrels with England; and for the sake of England, that she may take advantage of them, if quarrels shall be forced upon her.

BUT the glory of the Duke of Marlborough was concerned, that the eyes of England should be turned another way. And a nation followed him, which is always led while it thinks that it drives all others; and the very popularity of whose vanities, from the first year of Queen Anne to the end of the last Continental war, has contributed to lead it astray, dreaming of victories and sieges on the Continent, but not reflecting that the only end of war is peace, and that the true victories of a maritime nation, if wise, lie not in slaughtering enemies whose places are easily filled up, nor in taking towns which are easily retaken, and which at a peace are always given back, but in cutting off, as quickly as can be done, their resources of money, to force them not only soon to make peace, but to persevere in keeping it long.

IF there be any thing in these pages, or in the Appendix to them, which shall call the attention to the advantages which England alone, and much more England and Holland united, possess, in making war upon France in a way forgot for many centuries; or to the advantages which

lately come from the South Seas; and their concurrent testimony of the state of the Spanish dominions there, was such as I have described. The Appendix, N^o 1. will shew that I had very good reasons for being exact in my inquiries, and to weigh the credit of testimonies with care.

which England possesses in conducting a war against Spain, in a way which has not been practised since the reign of Queen Elizabeth; — if there be any-thing in them to show those two nations, that the English Lion, though lately in the toils, and forely beset by them, has still resources left in their weaknesses, and in unions with sister nations which are still not impracticable:—In fine, if the reflection of calamities, void of all fruit but calamity, which the frequency of war brings upon European nations, shall make them feel the wishes, the prayers, and even the agonies for peace, similar to those which the Writer of these sheets feels, then he will have attained his end in publishing them.

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which England possesses in conducting a war against Spain, in a way which has not been practised since the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It must be something in itself to show those two nations, that the English Lion, though lately in the fold, and nearly dead by them, has still resources left in their weakness, and in nations with iller nations, which are still not insuperable:--In fact, if the collection of calamities, and of all their but calamities, which the frequency of war brings upon European nations, had made them feel the value, the price, and even the agonies for peace, similar to those which the Western of their letters feel, then he will have attained his end in publishing them.

THE
HISTORY OF THE
REIGN OF
HENRY THE SEVENTH
BY
JOHN STUART

APPENDIX

THE
HISTORY OF THE
REIGN OF
HENRY THE SEVENTH
BY
JOHN STUART

A P P E N D I X, No. I.

P A R T I.

ACCOUNT of an INTENDED EXPEDITION into the SOUTH SEAS by PRIVATE PERSONS in the LATE WAR.

BEFORE I enter upon the following relation, three observations must be premised.

I. THE only passage by which ships of war or privateers have hitherto gone upon expeditions against the Spaniards in the South Seas, is by Cape Horn. But it is extremely dangerous and difficult in that high latitude to attempt the passage, except in the summer months; and the only summer months there are December and January.

II. When the passage is made, vessels meet with a south land-wind from the southmost point of Chili all the way to the bay of Panama. This wind never varies, carries ships above an hundred miles a-day, and the tract in which it runs reaches an hundred leagues off the coast to the west.

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FROM the bay of Panama, ships are carried to the East Indies by the great trade wind, at the rate of above an hundred miles a-day. This is the tract of the Spanish ships, from their dominions in the South Seas, to their possessions in the Philippine islands.

FROM the East Indies to the South Seas there are two passages;—one by the north, to sail to the latitude of 40° north, in order to get into the great west wind, which about that latitude blows ten months in the year; and which, being strong, carries vessels with quickness to the northern part of the coast of Mexico. From the extreme point of Mexico in the north, there is a land-wind which blows all the way to the bay of Panama, from the north to the south, precisely similar in all respects to the land-wind which blows along the coast of Chili to that bay, from the south to the north. This first tract into the latitude of 40° north, and then along the coast of Mexico, is the rout which the Acapulco ships take in coming from the Philippines to the South Seas.—The other rout from the East Indies is by the south, to get into the latitude of 40° south in New Holland; and from thence to take advantage of the great west wind, which about that latitude blows ten months of the year, in order to reach the southern part of Chili, where the south land-wind will be found. The facility of this last rout was not known till the late discoveries, which will make the memory of Sir Joseph Banks, of Captain Cook, of Lord Sandwich, and of his present Majesty, immortal in history.

III. ALL the English expeditions into the South Seas, since the first by Sir Francis Drake, till the last by Lord Anson, have been successful, but few of them profitable.—The reason of their success is obvious. The naval force of Spain is stationed always in Calloa bay off Lima; because that bay is the most proper part of the Spanish dominions for a naval station, from its superior safety to all other places in the South Seas, and from its being central between their southern and northern provinces there. If the commanders of that naval force hear that the English ships are on the coasts of the provinces, either to the south or north of Lima, they cannot go to find them in the teeth of the south or north land-wind. They must, therefore, first run out an hundred leagues west, in order to get out of those winds; and then turn to the north or south, to reach the latitude at which they wish to arrive; and lastly, turn in to the east on the skirt of

one of the land-winds to reach the coast. In all these three courses they will be going at the rate of perhaps thirty miles a-day; while, in the meantime, the English vessels, at the distance of an hundred leagues, within the outer skirts of the land winds, are running along the coast at the rate of above an hundred miles a-day: so that it is almost impossible that the pursued and the pursuers should ever meet. And accordingly, in all the English enterprises in the South Seas, I do not remember a single instance of a ship being taken during these two courses; I mean along the coast of Chili and Peru, until they got into the bay of Panama; or along the coast of Mexico, until they got into that bay. It is equally difficult to catch them in the bay of Panama, on account of the number of islands and places of shelter there. —Again, the reason why several of the expeditions have been unprofitable was, that unless the captors lighted upon money, ingots, plate, or jewels, they had no market for their numerous prizes, and were therefore obliged to destroy them. The account of Lord Anson's voyage shews, that if he had had vessels and crews to carry to a market all the prizes he took in the South Sea, and the plunder he burnt at Peyta, he must have gained *L.* 1200,000, more than the 400,000 that he did. But this disadvantage is now over; because the empire and influence of England is now so vast in the East, that prizes taken in the South Seas cannot fail of finding markets in India and China.

As it was understood that the late Lord George Germaine was intrusted with the conduct of the late war, I more than once presumed to say to him, because he was always good to me, that at a time when all the King's ships were employed in public great services to preserve the dominions of England, from France, Spain, America, and Holland, it was impossible to expect they should be able to annoy the trade of the enemies; and that this last service should be conducted, by giving encouragements of reward and honour to privateers, by which the war against the enemy's trade might be maintained at the expence of the merchants, and not of the state, or at least at a very small expence to the state, if encouragement was given to merchants: That Q. Elizabeth had acted in this way, not only in her public administration, but in her private conduct, who used often to go down the river in her barge, sailed round the private ships of war to examine them, went on board, sometimes even dined in them, knighted the Captains where

they had merit, changed the names of the vessels when she did not like them into lucky names, to please the humours of the seamen; made donations of money to the crews, and added all the flatteries of a woman to all the smiles of a sovereign, to animate the men and their commanders; by which she gained the treasures of Spain to England, more than by her armies and navies; and, which was of far more consequence, she spread a spirit of honour, of activity, and of marine chivalry, among her young nobility and gentry, who were as vain of maintaining vessels of war at their own expence, and sailing them themselves, as their posterity are now of keeping race-horses, and attending gaming-tables. That though the public of France, Spain and America united, had more money than the public of England; yet that private persons had more money in England than in those three countries connected; and that the great art of government seemed to be, to engage private persons in Britain, by views of honour, and of their private interest, to make public exertions. I had not then the honour of the acquaintance of Lord Sandwich; otherwise I should have held the same language to him, and, am persuaded, I should have met with the same indulgence. Lord George heard me with patience, because he was not one of those ministers who will not speak on professional subjects except to professional men: One of the most unfortunate conceits that ministers of state can form; because, as common sense and a knowledge of facts are the foundations of all professions, it may sometimes happen that those who are not of the profession, may know more of it than those who are; and whenever a professional man wraps himself up in the mystery of his trade, to keep all who are not of his profession at arms length from him, it is a sure mark that he is not only ignorant, but is conscious of his being so.

THE last Spanish war broke out so late in the summer that there was little chance of getting any expedition of consequence ready to pass Cape Horn in the proper months of December or January: And therefore there was a prospect that the most vulnerable parts of the Spanish empire, her South Seas, would be safe from attack for twenty months. But it occurred to me, that since the late discovery of Captain Cook and his friends, there were two easy ways of getting into the South Seas at any time of the year; the one from Britain by the Cape of Good Hope, and the other from India, either by the Philippines to hold North, or by New Holland to hold South;

that the very circumstance of the consciousness of Spain of her security for twenty months, gave an advantage to those who should attempt to make her feel her mistake; and that the proper mode of conducting an expedition from Britain in the South Seas, was to run by the Cape of Good Hope and New Zealand to the southern point of the coast of Chili; from thence along that coast by the south land-wind into the bay of Panama; from thence upon the trade-wind with the prizes, and such of their goods as were fit for the eastern markets, to China or India; from thence back with additional crews, new stores, and refitted ships, or new ships, by the Philippines, to the north coast of Mexico; from thence by the north land-wind into the bay of Panama; and so to continue the circle of expeditions, by cruising in the South Seas, and landing on the coasts, as long as they continued profitable.

THERE were at that time three merchants of Glasgow, who amongst them had gained half a million sterling by trade, and whose vigour of mind I knew to be equal to their fortunes: The late Mr Glasford, the late Mr Speirs, and the present Mr Cunningham. On the 10th of July, 1779, I wrote the following letter to Mr Glasford who had been my dear friend for twenty years.

Edinburgh, July 10th, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

“NEAR two years ago I saw several letters from our countrymen in the
“ West Indies and North America, that there was a great spirit of priva-
“ teering in those parts, but that it was checked by the West Indian gover-
“ nors, who took exorbitant fees for letters of marque; by the admirals,
“ who accounted privateers to be poachers on their ground; and by the
“ brothers the Howes, who wished to keep all vessels near themselves for
“ the public service. I wrote Lord George Germaine an account of those
“ things, and sent him the letters. He soon took care that full scope
“ should be given to privateers, and since that time wrote me, that the
“ nation had owed much to them.

“ ON different occasions I have had particular occasion to know his
“ Lordship's opinion that the enemies trade might be more effectually
“ destroyed by privateers, than in any other way, and he has created exer-

“ tions in that way, (which I shall explain to you at meeting) that are
“ known to very few but myself.

“ THESE things emboldened me, in two letters, to send the fol-
“ lowing project to Lord George; that an attack should be made in the
“ Spanish South Seas from India and Europe at the same time, or nearly
“ at the same time; that for this purpose a dispatch should instantly be sent
“ over land to India for the company's troops, ships, and treasures, either
“ to make an attack upon Manilla, or, if that place was thought too strong,
“ to go to the coast of Mexico, even though the expedition was small;
“ that small squadrons of stout privateers from Glasgow, Liverpool, Bris-
“ tol, London, &c. should be prevailed on to go round by the Cape of
“ Good Hope; and that, as encouragements to the merchants, government
“ should insure their ships, in the same way as they do the storeships and
“ transports in their service, give commissions to last during the expe-
“ dition, to their officers, in the same way as Queen Elizabeth and Queen
“ Anne did, and assist them with marines in order to preserve subordination.
“ I added, that I thought the Glasgow part might be executed by three men
“ for whose secrecy I could answer, Mr Speirs, Mr Cunningham, and yourself.

“ How Lord George may receive this project I do not know. But
“ my reason for informing you of it before I have his answer is, that you
“ may have time to form your thoughts upon it.

“ It does occur, that it is impossible for three men to do a greater ser-
“ vice to their country, or higher to their own honour, than engaging in
“ this one; that you may probably be the first on the field of plunder;
“ and, if government gives its assistance, that there are few adventures in
“ which private persons may have a better chance of making a large profit
“ with a smaller risk than in this one.

“ I recommend to you the perusal of Woodes Rogers' voyage, who cer-
“ tainly was a very uncommon man, and shall send you all the other books
“ of voyages into those seas.”

THE import of the answers which I received from the gentlemen, was,

that they liked the idea very well in general, but could not trust their own judgement upon it; and therefore desired me to communicate it to Mr Millar of Edinburgh for his opinion. Mr Glasford's letter contained these remarkable words: "I have made my fortune by British trade, and think " it a duty to venture part of it in protecting that trade."

MR MILLAR, a banker of great wealth, and antient family, had been originally in the sea service. He is the same person who invented and improved the caronade gun, and who has lately invented an improvement upon shipping, of perhaps still greater importance to a naval nation; the triple ship, worked by wheels in the two separations between the three vessels in a calm and when the wind is contrary; which has the three following advantages, that she advances in a calm when other vessels stop, or against the wind when other vessels are driven back; that she makes the whole sea coast of the world a harbour, by the shallow water which she draws; and that she saves from shipwreck on sea coasts, because, by means of her wheels she can be kept off any coast in time of danger*. I know not his equal in this island in point of invention, sagacity to regulate it, industry and spirit. And therefore, when I was sent to him, I thought the race was won. But Mr Millar, after hearing me for some time, without saying a word, rung a bell, called for a globe, and twirling it two or three times round, pointed out, that a ship going from Britain to the South Seas by Cape Horn, traversed only a third of the globe; whereas to go by the Cape of Good Hope, she must sail round the whole of it: and then gravely asked me, whether I was not mad to engage my friends in so romantic a project. I answered, that I measured distances, not by the space of sea gone over, but by the space of time required to go over it; that the difference in point of time between the one rout and the other was only six weeks, which I shewed by tacking to-

* Mr Millar lately sent a present of his book with plates to describe the vessel and its principles to every Sovereign of Europe, and also to the American States, because he thought that the invention ought to be the property of human kind. Copies of it were also sent to the Royal Society at London, the Advocate's Library in Scotland, and the University Libraries of that country, and I believe also of England; and he constructed, and tried in the sea several of these vessels, to ascertain which was the best form, at his own expence, which has been a very great one.

gether the times in which different voyages had been made from one point of the rout to another; a method which I was obliged to follow from want of a better, because no attempt has ever been made to perform the whole voyage in one stretch, without turning or stopping in the course, for different purposes; and that the loss of six weeks seemed to be compensated by the following circumstances: Armaments going by Cape Horne are obliged to stop on the coast of Braziles, from whence expresses are instantly sent over land, to put the South Seas on their guard before the armaments can reach them: After their departure from the Braziles, they have no place to stop at till they get into the South Seas: By the length of the voyage, the shaking of the ships in high latitudes with a violent west wind, almost continually against them, and the fatigue of the seamen, they are obliged, instead of making their attack on their first coming upon the scene of action, when mens spirits are highest, to go off to Juan de Fernandes, or Mazafuero, in order to refit their ships and recover the healths of the crews: In the one passage the vessels are exposed to shipwreck in high latitudes, and with high winds in their face; whereas, in the other, they may have three resting-places after they take their departure from the Cape de Verd islands, to wit, the Cape of Good Hope, new Holland, and New Zealand, go in easy latitudes from 33 to 35°, except for a week or two along the extremity of New Holland, even at which place the latitude is not higher than 40°, and are carried to their point of destination, the one way, by that prevailing westerly wind, which in the other way would impede them. Mr Millar said he would give the idea fair play, but he must have time to consider. In a few days he wrote me a letter, to be shewn to the Glasgow gentlemen, that the project was a good one, if government would assist them.

IN the mean time I had the honour to receive the following answer from Lord George Germaine.

July 24th, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

“ I AM much obliged to you for the information you gave me, and
 “ which you have communicated to Lord North, about the manner of
 “ conducting the war against Spain. I agree with you, that the plans
 “ proposed would distress the enemy most effectually; but I fear Lord

“ North would not be prevailed upon, at this time, to grant that money
“ for the encouragement of the privateers, which he may think at present
“ necessary for the immediate defence of this country; and indeed, till he
“ knows whether the fleet of this kingdom can maintain its superiority at
“ sea, and by that means prevent the invasions which are prepared against
“ us, he will not readily adopt measures of offence, which he will not be
“ able to support, till success has attended the naval operations now de-
“ pending. The Spaniards and French have now at sea, in Europe, no
“ less than seventy sail of the line; a few days may produce events of the
“ utmost consequence; till these are decided, it is in vain to speculate
“ upon distant operations. In former wars, the superiority of our fleet
“ left administration at full liberty to adopt and pursue plans of offence in
“ every quarter of the world. I trust that situation may soon be restored
“ to us; and then, I am certain, the war against France and Spain should
“ be carried on with all possible vigour; for this empire is undone, if it can
“ act only on the defensive.”

“ I WISH'D to have delayed writing to you for some time, till I could
“ see the turn affairs were likely to take; but I should be sorry if you
“ could have construed my silence into any want of attention to you, or
“ disregard to what you proposed; and therefore, I now write, that I may
“ have the pleasure of returning you my thanks for your zeal for the pub-
“ lic service, and, at the same time, of assuring you of my regard and
“ esteem.”

I am, Dear Sir,

Your faithful humble Servant.

Soon after, I received a short note from Lord George, without a date, that he was attending to the Glasgow affair, and thought he could bring it about.

THE three gentlemen spent the intermediate time in adjusting their plan. Each of them answered for a friend, whose names were Mr Gordon, Mr Dunlope, and Mr Bogle, all of Glasgow, and now living: The honourable Mr Elphinston, formerly captain of an Indiaman, and now a director of the East India Company, with the spirit of his brothers, and of his noble

ancestors, offered to throw his money into the adventure, and to go commodore, provided government could be prevailed upon to sell a forty or fifty gun ship for him to command, and the armament should consist of three stout frigates besides, in order to be able to force harbours, and to make the more frequent landings on the towns; and the gentlemen agreed to it, though their original plan was by no means so extensive.

BUT upon Mr Millar's giving his opinion in general, that such an armament was both too expensive, and would take too long time to prepare, Captain Elphinston very handsomely desired, that the gentlemen might not change their plan on his account; and said he could suggest a much better person than himself, who might possibly join them; whose name I give in public, that one gallant man may know what another gallant man thinks of him. The person was Captain Eden, who had gained so much honour to himself, and to the service of privateering in a ship of his own. Mr Millar's particular objections to large ships were, that they would be seen too far off, and that they could not run in on shallow coasts. The gentlemen preferred Mr Millar's plan; but generously said, that they would yield the other to Lord George Germaine, if he thought it of consequence to the nation. Upon Mr Millar's plan, the expence was to be *L.* 32000; of which, though rather out of my way, I agreed to throw in the odd *L.* 2000, that I might not appear to bring others into risks which I was afraid of myself.

IN the correspondence, I find the two following letters from Mr Millar to me, which I now publish without his knowledge; because I know I could not, from his modesty, have obtained his consent, and yet that future adventurers would be losers if they had not the advantage of seeing them.

“DEAR SIR JOHN,

“SINCE Captain Elphinston's plan for employing great ships in the southern business is at an end, I will take the liberty to give my sentiments as they occur upon the subject.—I am of opinion, that nothing to purpose can be done in the South Seas by private ships of war, on any other

“ principle than that of surprize; and therefore, ships that will carry a
“ force superior to any merchant ships in those seas are sufficiently large.—
“ For an expedition of this kind the ships should be swift sailers, that they
“ may always have it in their power to get away from ships of superior
“ force; and there should not be above three ships, as it is very difficult
“ to carry out a greater number in company upon such a voyage.

“ It is also extremely difficult to preserve harmony and good agreement
“ amongst the commanders of a greater number of ships in private service.
“ —The ships should be equal to each other in point of sailing as near as
“ possible.—The person who acts as Commodore ought to be a man of ve-
“ ry sound judgement; affable and easy in his manners, but firm and de-
“ cursive.—He should have that character with those of his profession, as to se-
“ cure the respect of the officers and men under his command, and an im-
“ plicit obedience to all his orders.—Great attention to proper places of
“ rendezvous, in case of separation, must be given in the instructions to
“ the commanders. The size of ships which I would think proper in this
“ voyage, is from 300 to 350 tons, carpenters measurement.—Such ships
“ are fit for any seas: They afford good accommodation to the seamen;
“ stow away a great many stores and provisions, and will carry a sufficient
“ force for any merchant ships or frigates the Spaniards have.—To do more
“ would require capital ships, which are not calculated for private profit;
“ and admitting they were, it is in my opinion not probable they could re-
“ pay the expence of the voyage, although they should even be fortunate
“ in taking prizes.—I think ships of 300 to 350 tons, carpenters measure-
“ ment, may carry on their main deck 24 or 26 of the new constructed
“ 32 pounder carronades.—These guns are not so heavy as the old 6 poun-
“ ders, and do not take so much room to fight and work them in.—I
“ mean the main deck to be that deck which goes flush fore and aft.—
“ Such ships may carry 20 or 30 of the new-invented six pounder swivels
“ upon the quarter deck, poop, and forecastle, and in the top.—One hun-
“ dred and fifty men will make a very sufficient crew for one of these ships,
“ of which if fifty are complete seamen, and the remainder officers, ordina-
“ nary seamen, and healthy young landsmen, she will be a fine manned ship,
“ and I am convinced fit to take any frigate belonging to France or Spain;
“ as the 32 pounder carronades can be fired four or five times for once that

“ the enemy can fire the old 12 or 18 pounders.—The men should be frequently employed at the exercise of the great guns.—The carronades have this great advantage from their lightness, besides many others:—they can be struck down into the hold at sea, and mounted at sea in a very little time.—In the voyage intended, every thing must depend on the health and spirits of the crews.—Nothing can so effectually secure this great object, as dividing the crew into three watches.—If no ships have gone, or shall go to the South Seas in the course of this and next month, the Spaniards will believe themselves safe from cruizers for the first summer, and till the next.—I am convinced they will never think of an attack from the west.—The thought is new, and promises great success to the persons who shall have the spirit and sense to follow out the idea.—My line of business precludes me from a share in the undertaking; but I wish it the greatest success, and I shall be ready at all times to contribute thereto by any small knowledge I have in such matters.

“ THERE is one thing should be mentioned to the gentlemen who engage in this adventure:—they should furnish the commanders with the voyages of all the late circumnavigators, and the best sea charts of the South Seas, and with a good terrestrial globe.—The frequent perusal of the voyages and charts are to be strictly recommended.—It will be proper to have one or two with them who understand Spanish; and if such are not to be got, the French or Latin will do.—A tolerable scholar may acquire enough of the Spanish in the passage, by means of a dictionary and grammar, and a few Spanish books.

“ As you intend to write the gentlemen at Glasgow, you may make what use you think proper of the few loose hints thrown together here in haste. I am, with great respect,” &c.

Edinburgh, Monday,

23d Aug. 1779.

“ DEAR SIR JOHN,

“ I HAVE read with attention your letters to Mr Glasford, and I admire the patience and judgement with which you have investigated the subject.

“ If the expedition takes place, there will be sufficient time to arrange your
“ thoughts and labours into a system adapted to the abilities of the men
“ who are to have the command. On that account there will be little
“ occasion for me to make any observations. At the same time, as you
“ are in the way of corresponding with the gentlemen at Glasgow, I shall
“ mention a few things as they have occurred, with a view to keep them
“ in mind. The three ships should be equally good sailers, if possible. The
“ greatest difficulty in this voyage is to keep company until they get into
“ the South Seas; and that is scarce practicable, if one fails fast, and another
“ slow.—You are to observe, that Captain Cook in describing a ship fit
“ for the Southern Seas, means a ship for discoveries upon unknown
“ coasts.

“ I HAVE no doubt but the sharpest built ships will carry all the stores
“ and provisions sufficient for the voyage;—although it is always an ad-
“ vantage to have a full built ship, if she works and sails well.—They
“ should not fail on any account with the East India ships;—if they do,
“ the secret will not keep, and intelligence will, in all probability, reach
“ America before them. New Zealand is not the proper place to refit
“ and refresh at in the spring and winter months.—They ought to push
“ forward to some of the new discovered islands, in a more favourable
“ climate.—Hatchets, axes, spikes, nails, red feathers, &c. you will
“ see from books, are articles necessary for the purchase of provisions, &c.
“ —This author must be consulted on every occasion.—His information
“ upon the article of provisions, is perhaps the most important for your
“ voyage.—Fishing nets, hooks, and lines, must not be forgot.—The ships
“ ought to take particular care to keep out of sight of Juan Fernandes and
“ Massafuero, as intelligence may be conveyed from thence to the conti-
“ nent even in an open boat.

“ If the ships are from 400 to 500 tons each, I think they should not
“ carry less than one hundred and seventy or one hundred and eighty men
“ each; but I am of opinion, that fifty or sixty good seaman a-ship is
“ sufficient.—The remainder of the crew should be stout healthy landmen,
“ from twenty to thirty years of age.—I would not think of arming above
“ two or three prizes; and twenty or thirty good men, with proper off-

“ cers, and a few Indians or Negroes, will render them formidable ships
 “ in those seas.—Twenty 24 pounder carronades, and the same number of
 “ swivels, six pounders, is a great force, and yet can be used in action by
 “ fifty or sixty men.

“ It would be a very difficult matter to direct the operations of a great-
 “ er number of ships.—The rule should be for the ships when they are up-
 “ on their stations to ly by every night under a mizen-stay-sail, or some
 “ other single small sail, to prevent their being discovered in the night time.
 “ A few minutes before day breaks, all the sails should be set, and a course
 “ taken as if for the first port, to prevent suspicions, if any ship is in sight
 “ when day breaks.

“ If nothing appears, then the ship should immediately regain her station,
 “ and furl all her sails.—Ships are seen at a greater distance when under
 “ sail than when not.

“ I HAVE not heard of this being tried, but I am sure it is right.—They
 “ must not tire upon their stations, and go backwards and forwards, if
 “ they do not meet prizes immediately.—It is necessary to wait with the
 “ patience of fishers for their game.

“ In land attacks I must recommend the carronade.—Four men will
 “ carry a twelve pounder carronade up a hill: carriages for ten or twelve
 “ of these guns should be made, and I believe there are few of their forti-
 “ fications will resist the impression they would make; and, I am certain,
 “ there are no troops they can collect able to resist a battery of such guns
 “ loaded with grape shot; considering, that from their being portable, any
 “ station may be taken with them.—This is all that occurs at present.
 “ I am, with great respect,” &c.

Edinburgh,

Sept. 16. 1779.

WHILE these matters were canvassing, the French and Spanish fleets en-
 “ tered the channel. I wrote the following note to Mr Glasford: “ The
 “ enemy seem to be running themselves into a noose, by bringing so large

“ a fleet up so narrow a sea: If they are beat, the hour of victory and
“ revenge is the hour for you to apply to ministers.” The gentlemen did
not despair of the republic, though many others at that time did. Mr
Glafsford’s answer desired me to throw the project into the draught of a
letter to Lord George, which he and his friends would alter as they thought
proper. Immediately after, we heard that the combined fleets, overwhelm-
ed with diseases and fears, had run away from that English fleet which was
running away from them; and then I sent the following draught of a letter
to Mr Glafsford.

“ MY LORD,

“ WE propose to fit out for the Spanish South Seas three swift privateers
“ of about 300 tons each, carpenters measure, very full of men, and
“ armed with small and large carronades, the last to carry balls of thirty
“ two pounds; and, in order to extend the armament wider, we propose
“ to send the frames of three vessels from ten to twelve tons, to be put to-
“ gether at the last land we touch on our way, and to arm these, and also such
“ of our prizes as are swift, with the spare carronades carried out in our
“ ships, and to mann both, partly with the supernumerary men carried out
“ in our ships, and partly by mingling the best of the Negroes and
“ Mulatto prisoners, who are the common mariners of those seas, with our
“ own people, under a promise of liberty if they behave well.

“ OUR ships will go by the Cape of Good Hope and New Zealand, a
“ passage never before attempted by an armament.

“ A SECRET known to so few persons, an attack from so unexpected a
“ quarter, at so unexpected a season of the year, with so unexpected a
“ weight of metal, shot from such small and swift ships, promise us success
“ in injuring the enemy’s trade.

“ BUT as a passage through seas where an armament never went before
“ must be hazardous, and as the public will receive equal advantage with
“ ourselves from the enterprize; (particularly if our attempt shall create an
“ embargo in those seas, which may happen, in which case our profits will sink
“ just in proportion as the public will reap advantage,) we cannot in common

“ prudence engage in it, unless government shall insure, or pay for the insurance of our ships and their furniture. In King William’s time, we are told that government paid not only the insurance, but many other expences of the privateers which it employed, and that government does the same now, with respect to the privateers and transports which it employs. We submit to your Lordship that our officers ought to have his Majesty’s commission during the service, and that we should be assisted with marines.

“ WE also take the liberty to suggest to your Lordship, that in case a peace with the enemy should be made, before our vessels begin to act, it would be but common justice to indemnify us, by taking our ships with their furniture off our hands.

“ WE once thought of making the squadron consist of a forty gun ship, with three stout frigates, so as to be enabled, by so strong an armament, to force harbours, to raise contributions on the towns, to lay, in that case for certain, the enemy’s trade to and from the South Sea under an embargo, and by these means to do extensive and important service to the nation; but found it impossible to procure a forty gun ship on a short warning. Government alone can remedy that defect; and if it inclines to sell us half-worn ships of war of these sizes, whether English or prize ships, at moderate prices, we are still willing to proceed on that large scale: because, when it becomes proper for the public to know what we are doing, it may animate others to follow our example.

“ FOR obvious reasons, it will be proper that we should have a communication from government, of what ships public or private, may be gone, or going to those seas, together with a communication of such official information relative to the state of those seas and coasts as his Majesty’s servants may think proper to entrust us with.

“ AT this distance from the seat of government, we are ignorant whether our application should be through your Lordship’s channel; and therefore we humbly desire, that you will lay this our application before his Majesty or his ministers, in what way you shall think right: and if it is thought proper, one of our number will go to London, to wait on such

“ of the King’s servants as shall be entrusted with attention to the business.”

I was told that the gentlemen made some alterations upon the draught before the letter went to Lord George ; and that in this, or in an other letter, they made the generous addition to their proposal, that they did not desire to be paid the insurance of each particular ship that was lost, provided there was a gain on the whole adventure.

I RECOLLECT in our conversations at that time, several things, which I now make public, because they may be of use to others at another time.

THE Duke of Newcastle’s administration gave ten thousand pounds to private adventurers, who sent cargoes in Lord Anson’s Squadron, with a view to open a trade with the Indians hostile to the Spaniards in the South Seas. Mr Pitt’s administration gave a great sum, to assist the private adventurers, who, in the year 1762, engaged in the intended attack upon Buenos Ayres, which ended so unfortunately at Nova Colonia. These are examples which passed in our own day for adventurers to quote to ministers, and for ministers to quote for themselves when they follow them.

IN order to make our provisions carried from Britain last longer, and also to give health to the men, Mr Millar proposed, that the crew should live on fresh provisions, as long as they could be made to last, after departing from England, the Cape de Verd islands, the Cape of Good Hope, New Holland, and New Zealand ; and that a quantity of salt should be taken on board in passing at the Cape de Verd islands, with which, at the different landing places, sea fowls, fish, amphibious and land animals, should be fresh salted ; and for that purpose, that some of the crew should be composed of persons, who had been accustomed to cure fish and flesh. The gentlemen intended also to have sent out brewing vessels, and brewers, with molasses, that they might make spruce beer, as Captain Cook did, from the forests of firs and pines which grow in New Zealand, to preserve the healths of the men ; and to have grudged no expence in sending out the juices of flesh, vegetables, and worts, prepared in the way proposed by Captain Cook, to supply the place of fresh provisions, vegetables, and

malt liquor. It is a duty which I owe to my deceased and to my living friends at Glasgow, to say, that their thoughts seemed to be more intent on prevailing upon Mr Millar, to find out contrivances to preserve the healths of the men, than even upon their own profits. Mr Millar always said that this was true œconomy, because the extraordinary expence would be amply repaid in the number and health of the crews.

I RECOLLECT a circumstance which shews the noble station that a British merchant fills in this empire. I was once saying to Mr Glassford, who used to employ twenty-four tobacco ships in his service, that I was afraid common seamen would not submit in our day, to live on the penguin sea fowl, and on young seals, as Sir Francis Drake, Sir Richard Hawkins, Mr Cavendish, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir John Narborough, Captain Dampier, Captains Rogers, and other gentlemen in former times had done: He answered “ that he would go down to Greenock and Port-Glasgow himself, where
“ he could pick out an hundred seamen, every one of whose persons and
“ characters he knew; and that if he promised to take care of their wives
“ and mothers in their absence, they would, to please him, live on any thing,
“ in order to shew an example to the rest of the men.”

By spreading out the three ships, the three small vessels which were to be carried out in frames, and the prizes, from the coast into the ocean at such distances, as that every vessel should be in sight of two, one to the east, and the other to the west of her; and by advancing regularly in the tract of the land-winds, we reckoned that no vessel could escape our squadron, which it was proper to encounter.

FROM the printed relations not of one voyage, but of almost all the voyages to the South Seas, we thought we had a moral certainty, that our people, when they came on the scene of action, could find plenty of fresh provisions, water, and vegetables, in their prizes at sea, and by their landings on the coast, and that there could be no want of Negro and Mulatto seamen in the prizes, to navigate such of them as should be converted into privateers.

LORD ANSON, with only two of his ships left when he came upon the scene of action, and only three hundred and thirty men, broken in their

health and spirits, and only three prizes which he armed, because he had not guns for more, either took or burnt to the value of *L.* 1400,000 in the small compass of three months, and though he made only one landing. It was therefore natural for us to be sanguine in our hopes of success, when we reflected that we were to bring upon the scene of action four hundred and fifty men in health and spirits, from the rout we had chosen for them; that we were to have six cruisers from the very beginning, and as many more as we should please afterwards to add to them from our prizes; that the deaths of our people could be supplied, and even new crews formed from the Negro and Mulatto prisoners, who are the almost only crews in those pacific seas; that we had an advantage which Lord Anson never possessed, because our vessels being small and swift, and fully manned, could overtake every thing that was weak, could run away from every thing that was strong, could be seen at no distance by land or by sea, could land almost every where on account of the little water that they drew, were intended not to make one landing, but to make many landings, and to continue on the coast, not three months, but as long as the commanders should find the expedition beneficial; and that the trade to the East Indies could hardly fail to be profitable, when the goods sent there cost us nothing; the market was within a few weeks sailing; and the competition in selling was with goods for which money had been paid in Europe, and which had taken six months to get to their market in the East Indies.

From the printed accounts of the South Seas it appears, that many of the ships used there are of a large size; one of the very few ships which Lord Anson took, carried six hundred tons, another five hundred; and from the regularity of the winds, that they require very few hands to navigate them. From these two circumstances, we thought that large stowage would be found in the prizes for the prize goods to be sent to the East Indian markets, and the crews not be weakened too much by detaching small parts of them on that service.—We resolved to make enquiry, whether the prize goods that would not sell in the East Indian markets, could find a market in the Braziles, in the way pointed out by Woodes Rogers. But instead of destroying the prizes or prize goods for which we could not find a market, or burning the towns, as too many of the later adventurers have done, we hoped to make the generosity of Glasgow merchants as famous in the South

Seas, as that of Queen Elizabeth's commanders had been, who restored the prizes which they could not sell, and burnt no town that they could save.

ON this head, the following passage in Mr Glafsford's letter to me, of date 20th September, gives me an opportunity to do justice to the delicacy of that most virtuous man. "I think, that plundering peaceable inhabitants, and perhaps with the loss of their lives in defending their property is disagreeable; and that it may be better to be without that part of wealth which would be so gained. It may be said indeed, that it is equally bad to seize private property at sea as at land, and that this happens too with the loss of lives in defending. However true this be, yet it is a more common way of making war, than I suppose the other is. And property at sea is in use to be insured; which expence of insuring is paid by the price of goods being in time of war low at the places where shipped, or high at the markets to which they are brought, or both; so that this expence of insuring can be afforded, and yet the merchants may make profit: So that captures at sea become as much, or perhaps more, a national than a private loss. But the inhabitants of towns not being in the custom of insuring, they are on a different footing from the merchants whose property is seized at sea. I know not the sentiments of the other gentlemen: what I have here said is only what occurs to myself."—My answer was in these words: "The levying of contributions at land has been the practice, the *jus gentium*, and the *jus belli* of Europe for three hundred years past; and came in place of the practice which immediately preceded it, of burning countries, and taking ransoms for prisoners. Of all human kind Marechal Turenne was the most delicate in matters of honesty and honour: In one of his marches into Germany he had two routs to make his choice of; one through a rich, the other through a poor country. The people of the rich country suspecting, for obvious reasons, that he would march through them, sent him the offer of a large sum of contribution-money, provided he would take the other rout. His answer was, That he could not in conscience receive the money, because he had that very morning resolved in his own mind to take the other rout. Now, if a man who had such exquisite sensibility of honour, as to stand in awe in this manner of what had passed only in his

“breast unknown to all others, could feel nothing wrong in levying contributions wherever he passed, why should you be more scrupulous?”—The consequence of this scruple, however, was, that the gentlemen agreed to raise moderate contributions in the towns, but not to plunder them.

It was not forgot to ask from government a copy of the memorial which, it appears from the account of Lord Anson's voyage, Sir Charles Wager gave to the late King's ministers, relative to an attack upon the South Seas; because from a commander so high in rank we had reason to expect much information.

FROM the correspondence it appears, that the gentlemen once hesitated upon that part of the plan which proposed that the ships should go to the East Indies with their prizes, and then return to the South Seas to get more. Their objections were three. First, That the East India Company might consider them as interlopers, and deem their selling prizes within the limits of the Company's charter, to be contrary to the rights of it. The second, That there could not be stowage enough in the ships carried from Britain, to hold the necessary provisions for so long an adventure. And the last, That the continuation of it in the manner I proposed, would be too expensive. And Mr Glasford desired me to ask the opinion of Mr Elphinston.

My letter dated the 22d of September, gives his answer to the first objection, in these words: “Mr Elphinston says, that your officers, having
“the King's commissions, would save you, as these sell their prizes in India; and even supposing the charter was against you, that the councils
“of the Company in India would scorn to make use of it, against men
“who were doing so much service to the common cause, and even to the
“Company's servants, by bringing to them commodities far cheaper than
“they could get them from Europe; that the markets of China, and other
“places on that side of India, are open to you, where you will find
“vent of one kind or other for what is proper for the market; that at the
“Batavian market the Dutch will set a price upon you; but that on the
“Malabar and Coromandel coasts you will be received with open arms;
“and that you can get provisions, stores, and as many seamen of one kind

“ or other, to go to the South Seas, as would keep up your original stock
“ at least.”

WITH regard to the second objection, the words of my letter are: “ Mr
“ Elphinstone thinks that your three ships could not carry out provisions
“ enough to support themselves to the South Seas, and them and their prizes
“ from thence to the East Indies. You who are merchants and fitters
“ out of ships are better judges of this matter than me. But I beg leave
“ to remind you, that Captain Cook maintained his crew of 112 for three
“ years on the provisions he took out with him; and that your original
“ provisions would be saved, while your ships were on the coasts of the
“ South Seas. For, Captain Dampier relates, that the squadron of pri-
“ vateers in which he was engaged, which was increased by prizes some-
“ times to ten, was seldom at a pinch for provisions, although it sometimes
“ contained above a thousand men. They took many vessels with flower
“ and other provisions, which they stored up in the Gallipagos islands.
“ They seldom landed, which they did often, without finding cattle, or
“ other provisions: They found immense quantities of fish every where;
“ they salted turtle, seals, and other provisions even near the line, the
“ weather not being so hot in the south as in the north sea in the same la-
“ titude. With the sugar which they took, and the cocoa nuts which they
“ gathered, they made chocolate. They found turtles in such quantities
“ to live upon, as to make hogheads of oil of them; with twenty other
“ conveniences which Anson had no occasion to make use of, because he
“ had plenty of stores.”

IN order to remove the last objection, I presumed to suggest, that the
gentlemen should propose to government, to take their ships into pay in
India, and to continue the expeditions into the South Seas, at its own ex-
pence, adding these words: “ I trust it will not be difficult to satisfy Lord
“ George, that it is more for the benefit of the public to continue this at-
“ tack for eighteen months than for three months, and an exceeding good
“ bargain for the public, to make a war with ships already in those seas,
“ rather than to send them from England into those seas.”

I CANNOT recollect any difference of opinion amongst us, but one. I had

made up from printed books, three lists; one was of the stations and time of continuing on them; another, of the open towns on the coast, which might be taken and laid under contribution without danger, and of towns weakly defended, which might be taken in the night time by surprize with little danger; the third was a list of the churches and convents, with the probable value of the gold and silver plate, gold and silver images, and jewels in them: And from what is mentioned cursorily in Ulloa and other books, I thought I had reason to believe that there is more gold, silver, and jewels, in these places of devotion, than there is in the whole of the three British kingdoms. The belief is probably well founded; for, it is natural for the possessors of wealth to give that to the church which they cannot otherwise dispose of, who can find few borrowers to pay interest for money in countries where there is little agriculture, manufacture, or trade, who are not permitted to send the precious metals or jewels home without the consent of government, whose wives and daughters cannot bear above a certain quantity of gold and jewels on their dresses without sinking under them, and who are themselves the most superstitious of all the European nations.—In the richest part of the South Seas, where the night is equally long with the day, the attack upon the towns in the night, by surprize, is easy. The securing the plunder of the churches is equally easy, from the form of the Spanish towns in every part of the world; for they all have a great square in the centre of the town, and in that centre stands the chief church: So that invaders marching directly to that square, can both command the town, and secure the treasure in the church. But I received a private note from Mr Glasford, that the idea of touching things dedicated to God made him uneasy, and he wished that part of the project to be dropt. Perhaps I may be mistaken; but I thought I observed, in consequence of that scruple, a struggle in the minds of some of my Glasgow friends, between their respect for religion, which made them averse to plunder churches, and their hatred of Popish superstition, which made them recollect that they were only Popish churches. And this last consideration seemed to me to remove the scruple a good deal from their minds.

IN the end of October, I was called almost in an instant to Lisbon by a family distress. I was a day at London in passing, where I saw Lord George, who desired that the communication between him and the Glasgow gentle-

men might be conducted by Mr Andrew Steuart then a Lord of trade, as secrecy and prudence were of the last consequence; and that one of the gentlemen might come to London as soon as could be. Mr Cunningham accordingly went to London.

I RECEIVED accounts in Lisbon that the expedition did not take effect with his Majesty's ministers; and that another, to take the same rout by the Cape of Good Hope, but to be conducted by the public, was preferred to it. As I was abroad, I do not know the circumstances of the disappointment: But I must do the justice to one dead person, and one living one, to say, that I never heard the gentlemen make the least complaint of Lord George Germaine or of Lord North. The last letter that I received on this subject from Mr Glafsford, of date the 10th of December, informing me of an account that Mr Steuart wrote of what passed at one of his meetings with Lord George, contains the following words: "Mr Steuart says that nothing could be more proper, and more cordial, than the reception which Lord George gave to the subject of our letters."

I HAVE sometimes talked of the above project to Sir Joseph Bankes, who observed, that since the discovery of the Sandwich islands by Captain Cook, in his last voyage, such adventures are become much more easy; because, in these islands, the adventurers will find places of refuge for their ships, provisions for their crews, strong stations in which to lodge their plunder, from whence they may return to get more, and inhabitants in the islands to assist their seamen in sailing either to the east or the west.

THE Spaniards are abundantly conscious of their danger in the South Seas: For, when I was once taking the liberty to say to Count Florida Blanca the King of Spain's first minister, that the Americans who were bound neither by treaty nor by fear not to injure Spain, would find their way by the Cape of Good Hope into the South Seas, and was describing to him the state of the winds and passages, he said, "Je sçai tout cela aussi bien que vous." "I know all that as well as you."

A P P E N D I X, No. I.

P A R T II.

LETTER to CAPTAIN ROBARTS from one of his
FRIENDS, on the SUBJECT of an EXPEDITION into the
SOUTH SEAS.

WHEN I was at Lisbon, I was very intimate with Captain Robarts, who commanded a line of battle ship in the Portuguese service. He told me, that he once had the idea of making an expedition from England into the South Seas; and gave me a letter which he had received on that subject from a naval friend, whose advice he had asked. I now print the letter. I am so unlucky as to have forgot the name of its writer, which is torn away. But I have lodged the letter with the editor, in hopes, that persons who are better acquainted with the hand-writings of sea-officers than I am, may perhaps discover who wrote it.

DEAR SIR,

Portsmouth, March 17. 1762.

“ ALTHOUGH I have not had so much leisure time in the Downes as I
“ expected, I have nevertheless thrown together what at present occurs to

“ me on a plan of what might be done, with two ships of sixty and thirty
“ six guns and seven hundred men, in the South Seas: What I say you will
“ take as hints to be considered of at your leisure: On comparing the dif-
“ ferent accounts, in the books I shall hereafter mention, you will undoubt-
“ edly form a more perfect one: I can only talk on what I recollect of
“ them imperfectly.

“ I SUPPOSE you mean to complete your provisions and ship's companies
“ in Ireland.

“ ON every account, I think you should get out as early in the summer
“ as possible. The first rendezvous and watering-place might be St. Jago.
“ Your own knowledge of it hinders me from saying any more than that
“ I suppose it would sufficiently answer these purposes, and be as concealed
“ a place as any you could go to. From thence, if possible, you should
“ carry a sufficient quantity of water, not to be under the necessity of
“ touching at any place before you reach the Falkland islands. But I
“ would first endeavour to make Pepys island in 47° south, as described
“ by Cowley; it affords every kind of refreshment sufficient. The Falk-
“ land isles would be my resource, if I could not find that. I should go to
“ the eastward of Staten land; but I do not imagine it would be necessary
“ to go into so high a latitude as Robins talks of, to make the passage round
“ Cape Horn. If you get out soon, have the favourable passage you may
“ expect at this time of the year, and meet with refreshment at the Pepys
“ or Falkland isles, you might perhaps be able to go upon service immedi-
“ ately on your arrival in the South Seas: You should, notwithstanding,
“ I think, appoint Juan Fernandez as the last rendezvous, and refresh
“ there, should you not lose company, which I think you need not much
“ apprehend.

“ I SHALL suppose you may be ready to leave Juan Fernandez, and enter
“ upon your plan of action before the end of December. The plan I should
“ take would be perhaps a less profitable, but a much less precarious one,
“ than that of staking the whole success of the voyage on the hopes of meet-
“ ing the galleon; and which you would at that time be too late for inter-
“ cepting on her passage from Manilla. Valparaiso is the port of the
“ capital of Chili; the exportations from thence are not perhaps very va-

“ luable, but bought principally with gold from Peru. The fort, I am
“ affraid, would be too strong for you, at least take up too much time.
“ My plan would be to stand boldly into the road, and board every ship
“ in it; take bullion, and what else you found valuable or serviceable into
“ your own ships; ransom or destroy the bottoms and gruff cargoes, with-
“ out losing any time; and stand directly down the coast, with the south-
“ west winds (which reign at that time of the year) for Arica, which I
“ should look upon as the principal object. It is true there are several
“ roads and open towns on the coast between; but I should be too much
“ affraid of risking the surprisal of Arica, to stop any where, unless the
“ intelligence procured at Valparaíso induced me to change my measures.
“ I would contrive to go into Arica road soon after day-light, land pro-
“ bably to the northward of the town, and during the disembarkation of
“ the first division, send the second to take possession of the ships in the road,
“ with orders to leave a small but sufficient guard aboard of each, before
“ they landed to reinforce the first, which probably would facilitate their
“ disembarkation nearer. This, on the supposition that there may be works
“ constructed to prevent an enemy's landing in the front of the town.

“ WHAT I here propose would require some military knowledge and
“ activity; (I think there is a field in that part of the world, with a small
“ force, for a great deal of both) also more boats than are usually carried
“ in ships, and those of a construction for carrying a number of men with
“ expedition, and landing where a little surff in some places may be expect-
“ ed. Flat-bottomed rowing boats of different sizes would stow within
“ each other; you might if necessary, take in, or tow down the coast some
“ of the prize boats taken at Valparaíso or elsewhere. Some small petards
“ with wheel-barrow carriages for them, some howitzers, and some light
“ brass field-pieces, might be of great use.

“ THERE is a probability, I think, of making a very considerable cap-
“ ture at Arica. From your intelligence there, and at Valparaíso, you
“ could be able to form your future plan; whether you were of sufficient
“ force to seize what will be lying in Callao road; whether attempt the
“ places to the northward of Lima; or cruise off Acapulco for the galleon
“ returning to Manilla, if you were near her time of leaving America.

“ You might perhaps from your intelligence find it of service, immediately
 “ on having secured possession of Arica, to dispatch one ship down the
 “ coast, as far as Camana or Ocona, with orders to return to Arica, or
 “ wait to be joined, as judged most convenient. I should think you might, if
 “ the war continues, find advantageous employment on the coast of Chili,
 “ Peru, and Mexico, (including the time necessary at places of refresh-
 “ ment, accounts of which you find in all the books) to remain on that
 “ side, until the time of cruising off Cape St Lucas in California, for the
 “ galleon from Manilla, I suppose early in November, or sooner, to secure
 “ being on that station before she has passed it. The king of Spain’s or-
 “ ders are, that she sail from Manilla on the 24th of June, and from Aca-
 “ pulco on the 25th of March; but I believe she is sometimes a month
 “ later.—If the galleon on her voyage from Manilla fall into your hands,
 “ you might possibly sell a very considerable part of her cargo privately
 “ to the Spaniards of Peru and Chili: The best way to dispose of the rest,
 “ in my opinion, would be bringing or sending it round Cape Horn.

“ SHOULD you miss her in America, or not make a sufficient capture there
 “ to answer your expectations; your last resource would be a cruise for her
 “ in Asia, either off Guam or the Philippines: And in that case Macao
 “ would be the best port for refreshment, and perhaps offer an opportunity
 “ of intercepting the Spanish trade between the Philippines and China.

“ THE books that may afford you some lights, are Harris’s Collection
 “ of Voyages, D’ Ulloa, and Don Geo. Juan’s Voyage de l’Ameriques,
 “ Hist. des Navigations aux Terres Australes, Anson’s, Frezier’s, Rogers’,
 “ Cooke’s, Dampier’s, Funnel’s, Sharp’s, Betagh’s, Shelvocke’s, Sir John
 “ Narborough’s, Pere Feuillee’s, History of Buccaneers.

“ I INCLOSE to you three Spanish charts, the river of Plata, of St Mar-
 “ tha, and of Vera Cruz; which is all the manuscript particular plans I
 “ have, that I think you can possibly use, should you think of keeping on
 “ this side.

“ I SHALL be very happy, if what I have here said proves in the least use-
 “ ful to you. What might be proposed, according to different seasons and
 “ situations in so very large a field, could not be comprised in many letters.

“ I am, Dear Sir, yours,” &c.

A P P E N D I X, No. I.

P A R T III.

PROJECT OF AN EXPEDITION TO THE COAST OF JUCATAN AND OF HONDURAS.

BEFORE stating this project, four observations must be premised :

I. The coast on the bay of Honduras is extremely unhealthy, because low, swampy, and flooded in the rainy seasons ; but less unhealthy in our summer months. The north coast of Jucatan is healthy, because it is high and dry. The register ships ly, in time of war, under the protection of fort Omoah, during part of our summer months, to receive their cargoes in the least unhealthy season ; each of whose cargoes of indigo and other valuable articles is worth *L.* 200,000, independent of the treasure brought to them from Guatimala where there is a royal mint.

II. FORT OMOAH on the land side is defended by a broad ditch, a curtain, and bastions ; from which circumstance it is exceedingly dangerous on that side to attack it by storm, and almost impossible to take it by siege, because the troops would die in the course of the siege. To the sea it has no ditch, or bastions, but only a demi-lune mounting 18 twenty-four pounders, which comes down almost to the water's edge, where there is a safe landing for

boats. The battery is 28 feet high. The nights being equal in length to the day in that latitude, are very long and dark. From the height of the battery, and its having no flanks to the sea, it follows, that, even in the day time, guns would have little chance of hitting boats in advancing, and could not touch them at all when they came below the battery, and that in a dark night the boats in both cases would be perfectly safe. The same circumstances make it not difficult to cut out the register ships in the night time, even when lying under the cannon of the fort. There are also positions on the sides of the bay from whence the register ships might be reached by guns.

III. EUROPEAN troops on the Spanish Main, keep their health and spirits for a month or six weeks, after which they infallibly die away. Negroes enjoy health perfectly well at all times, because they are habituated to hot climates, and to live on any food. The Spaniards use almost no other troops there. And some attempts on the Spanish Main at the end of last war, in which black troops were made use of, prove that they may be formed into very good soldiers. Monsieur Suffrein, in the East Indies, in the late war, had a large number of negroes on board, to work his guns: And the French artillery by land were, and are now worked by them there. The Coromantee nation, of whom three hundred are sometimes brought in one ship to Jamaica, are brave to excess. If the Spanish dominions in the New World, on the side next to Europe, shall ever be conquered, it will be by an army composed of Africans, who will repay upon one European nation, the injuries which they have received from all the rest.

Lastly, THE merchant ships go generally from Britain to Jamaica empty without cargoes, or nearly so, and they generally go out in the middle of the spring, and return in winter with their cargoes.

ON these data, in the month of December 1781, I presented a project to Lord George Germaine, for an expedition upon the coasts of Honduras and Jucatan, by a junction of privateers and of a few land forces, which consisted of the following particulars :

THAT a few merchants, whose secrecy could be depended upon, should fit out five or six stout privateers, to sail to Jamaica from Britain in the month of April, with 600 troops, in order to be certain of carrying on to the expedition 500 of the best of them. Government to furnish the provisions, but the merchants to charge no freight; by which the public would save *L.* 12000 in freight, and yet the merchants lose nothing, because they must at any rate have sailed without freight. The ships to be armed partly with large and light carronades with their carriages stowed in the ships, in order that they might be turned at pleasure into trains of artillery. The merchants to carry out an assortment of goods fit for trading with on the Spanish Main.

FIVE hundred negroes, with a promise of liberty for good behaviour, to be formed in Jamaica, in the course of the winter, into regular companies, and trained like the seapoys in India; in order to be ready to be joined to the troops when they arrived in Jamaica.

THESE two bodies should run down, in a few days, to the bay of Honduras, to attack fort Omoah. They should attack the fort on the side of the sea, by a landing of boats in a dark night under the battery, and mounting it by scaling-ladders. If the blow was missed, or while it was making, the armament should attempt to cut out the register ships in the dark; and if that blow was also missed, the large carronades should go up the bay to such stations as could reach the register ships, in order to force them to a ransom, rather than to be destroyed.

PART of the armament to be left at Fort Omoah, if taken, or Baccalar, or some other port on the coast of the bay, or in the islands nearest, in order to continue the war against the Spaniards, to protect the bay men, and a private trade in those parts.

THE rest of the armament to proceed to the north of Yucatan, before their expedition in the bay could be known, land in the bay of Sizal, which is large and open, and attack Sizal the sea port of Merida, which is open behind, and would fall without a stroke, where there are always vast quantities of valuable goods stored up in warehouses ready for exportation.—

While one part of the armament was settling the contribution of that town, another part should march to Merida the capital of the province, to lay it under contribution. The province being full of horses and mules, this could be done almost in an instant: And the train of light carronades loaded with canister, would save the troops against all danger from any trifling force which could be brought against them.—The armament to run along the rest of the north coast of Jucatan, where are many rich towns, and all open, as long as the healths of the men should continue to be good.

LASTLY, The ships to sail to Jamaica with their plunder, in order to take in their own ordinary cargoes, in the common season, in Jamaica, and return with them to Britain.

GOVERNMENT to insure the ships; and the plunder to be divided between the troops, the crews, and the merchants, according to articles previously to be agreed upon.

I WROTE Mr Glafsford from London what I had done, and asked his opinion of the adventure, and whether he would engage in it? His answer was, “That if the King’s servants would be explicit and determinate in their answer, and give it in two, or at most three weeks, in order to afford sufficient time for purchasing the ships, and making other preparations, he would find friends to execute the whole of the privateering part of the business.” He also informed me of a thing which surprised me a good deal, that though the share of the contributions was a considerable object to merchants, yet the selling the articles carried from Britain on the Spanish Main was a far greater; and that the trade was so well understood, that it could be carried privately on, at the very time, and in the very places, where the soldiers were laying the coast under contribution.

LORD George Germaine said that it was impossible for him to give an answer to be depended upon in so short time as the merchants required. In consequence of which, the adventure was no more thought of by them or by me.

A P P E N D I X, No. I.

P A R T IV.

WEAKNESS OF THE RIVER LA PLATA.

DURING the time that I was at Lisbon, or in Spain, which was above half a year, there was only one ship that arrived in Spain from the river La Plata. The cargoes of the rest were lying on board in that river from the time that hostilities with England had been dreaded: And the cargo of each ship, as they are very large in that trade, was upon an average worth *L.* 80,000. The same kind of embargo takes place in every Spanish war, not only there, but in almost all the Spanish dominions in the New World; because the Spaniards have not fleets sufficient to conduct a war, and convoy their trade at the same time.

THE unhealthiness of the Spanish dominions on the side of America next to Europe, or, as it is commonly called, on the north sea of Spanish America, is owing chiefly to two circumstances;—the exhalations from immense ranges of forests, and the violent heat of the sun: For when extreme moisture and extreme heat meet, disease and death will soon follow. But the river La Plata is subject to neither of those extremes; for, lying in much the same latitude with Lisbon, it enjoys one of the finest climates in the world, and

no forests are to be found but at a vast distance from its banks. Hence the chief city Buenos Ayres takes its name from the purity of its air. I was told by the late Captain Robarts, who was a man of very superior understanding and information, and who had commanded one of the ships which made the expedition from the Tagus into the river Plata, at the end of the war before last, that nothing protected the possessions of the Spaniards there, from the mouth of the river up to 150 miles beyond Buenos Ayres, but the shallowness of the banks, and in some places of the bed of the river, which last was not known to British seamen, which made it difficult, if not impossible for ships of size to reach them; but that the fortifications were contemptible beyond measure; being composed of high mud walls, because there was no stone in the country, like those of the old Moorish towns in Spain, which the poorest shot could beat down.

THESE circumstances make the river La Plata in an especial manner the proper sphere of privateers, which dare not land in unhealthy climates, because the loss of a few of their few hands would ruin the adventure. And the invention of the carronades, which from their lightness, require no bullocks or horses to draw them, and of the triple ship worked by wheels in time of calm or contrary winds, which can land almost wherever a pinnace can land, removes all the difficulties arising from the shallowness of the bed, and of the banks of the river.

EXPEDITIONS into the river La Plata have this advantage, that if they fail of success there, they may proceed to the South Seas, and, if they fail of success in these, they may proceed to the Philippines.

R E F L E C T I O N S.

TH E expeditions of England in this century, to the Spanish dominions in the New World, have been chiefly directed against the islands, or against that side of the continent which lies next to Europe : That is to say, we have attacked Spain in the New World, as we have France through Flanders, by taking, as the old Duke of Schomberg used to say with regard to a war in Flanders, the bull by the horns ; attacks, considering the climates in which they were made, and the strength of the fortifications to be carried, which required great fleets and armies, the very greatness of which insured the destruction of both, by the creation and diffemination of disease, and were attended with a vast loss of money, and of the most valuable lives in the nation. But expeditions to the South Seas, to the coast of Jucatan, and to the river La Plata, require no armies, no royal fleets, little expence, and risk few lives. They can be executed by private merchants as well as by the greatest state, and much more profitably for the public by the former ; because the public pays the whole expence of the King's ships of war, when yet the officers and men get the whole plunder : whereas in privateers, the merchants, not the public, would bear almost the whole expence ; because they would probably ask no more of government, than to have their ships and furniture insured.

LET me suppose that three privateers, on the principles which the Glasgow gentlemen went upon in their intended expedition to the South Seas, should go into those seas ; three more to the coast of Jucatan ; and three more to the river La Plata. The expence of the three expeditions, upon our calculations, would not exceed *L.* 96,000, and probably would be a third less, because the expeditions to Jucatan and La Plata taking so much less time than an expedition into the South Seas, would be done at half the expence of our intended expedition there. I remember that in estimating the expence of our insurance, we supposed it would be equal to a third of the adventure ; and the Glasgow gentlemen said they would stand insurers themselves at that premium. Then the expence of the three expeditions would cost the public at most *L.* 32,000, and perhaps only two-thirds of that sum.—If to these three expeditions undertaken by private persons, there was added a march of 500 English, and 1000 black troops, from the

bay of Honduras, by Guatimala, to take possession of Sonsonata in the South Seas, during almost all of which rout the passages are good, the climate healthy, and horses or mules numerous; and an expedition from the East Indies, either to the Philippines, or to Chili, or Mexico, according as circumstances should present themselves, undertaken either by the public, or by private persons there, (which last is not impossible, because I have been told by East Indian gentlemen, who had no interest to deceive me, that if they had known of the expedition from Glasgow, they would have met it with another :) Then, I say, that these expeditions would shake the whole Spanish monarchy in those parts of the world, at a less expence to the public, than is required to maintain a war for only one month in Germany or Flanders.

SPAIN is at present a tool in the hands of the ambition of France, by the artifice of the family compact, which makes a generous but unpolitic prince prefer the interest of his family to that of his people, and by the constraint under which France holds Spain, by the easy access into Catalonia and Valentia, which she has contrived for herself by her passage across the Pyrenees. But it is in the power of England to hold a far more powerful constraint over Spain: For, the late invention of the carronade gun, which by its lightness can be carried by the hands of men through swamps, over mountains, and to the tops of commanding heights, added to the invention of the triple ship which goes with any wind or with no wind, and can land on any coast, puts it in the power of England, whenever she pleases, to force the King of Spain either to quit his family compact, or to lose at least as long as the war lasted, the benefits of his foreign empire.

I CONCLUDE with an observation, perhaps of more consequence than all these reflections put together. Knowledge of the public history of past days, and of some *private history* in my own day, make me certain, that many noble attempts and designs have been disappointed from want of an act of parliament to regulate the division of the shares of plunder between the fleet and the army, and between the members of those bodies among themselves: And until that act of parliament shall be made, such attempts and designs will for ever be disappointed. The Minister must be bold who applies the remedy, because he will bring the whole fleet on his back: But he will be repaid by the thanks of the army, and of his country, and by the glory of the first war in which the nation shall be engaged.

A P P E N D I X, No. II.

Practicability of an INCORPORATED UNION with Ireland, and of a FEDERAL UNION with America.

Plans of Fletcher of Salton, and Mareschal Earl of Stair.—Incorporated Union with Ireland.—Federal with America.—The last necessary to America and Britain.—The first to Britain and Ireland.—Anecdote.—Power of Britain, Ireland, America, and Holland combined.—Comparative Expence between white and black Troops in hot Climates.

THE late Mr Fletcher of the House of Commons, once put into my hands, as related in common with him to Mr Fletcher of Salton, whose family he represented, a treatise on the Union of States, which he found among the papers of his ancestor, but not written with his hand, desiring my opinion whether it was his composition. I thought that it was. Afterwards I found a copy of this paper in the Advocates Library, and on it, in the hand-writing of Mr Thomas Rudiman librarian, who was the cotemporary of Mr Fletcher, and eminent for historical erudition, industry and accuracy, the following note, “supposed to be written by the Laird of Salton *.”

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* Mr Fletcher's style is easily known, because every word has a precise meaning, and distinct from any other in the sentence; the structure of the sentence is as simple, but as varied as that which is used in private conversation; the method in his composition is perfectly regular, but artfully concealed; and one singularity in his reasoning is, that the arguments are placed in an order to derive force from what went before, and to give force to what comes after, so as to seem to grow out of each other. But, above all, when he is animated with passion, his flashes are sometimes as quick as lightning, and sometimes followed by a thunder of period: All which mark an original genius, but made chaste by the reading of the ancients. The volume of his works is unequally collected, and his discourse on the affairs of Spain is a poor translation from the Italian, in which he wrote it.

THE view of this paper was to show, that an incorporated union between England and Scotland would prove ruinous to the last of these countries; whereas a federal union would aggrandise both, provided the power of the Crown was kept within proper limitations; and what these were, he had formerly defined in the bill which he carried into the Scots Parliament, under the title of Bill of Limitations; to wit, that Parliament should be the King's only council, be chosen annually, debate in public, but vote by ballot; that all acts passed in Parliament should be laws, though the King consented not to them; that, in the intervals of Parliament, a committee of it should be the King's council, and responsible to Parliament; that the gift of all places, civil and military, and of pensions, and the power of pardoning offences against the public, should be in Parliament alone; that no forces should be kept on foot without its consent; and that a general militia should be regularly trained, and kept on foot. Mr Fletcher's paper will be printed in the next Number of this Appendix; because I never saw or heard of any copy of it except these two.

THE late Marechal, Earl of Stair, once formed a plan for the administration of America, part of which is now in the books of the Board of Trade. The general outline of this plan was, that a Governor, and a station of Government, should be appointed in America, to which the delegates of the provinces should resort in regular convention; that, from this station, communications should be established, to the different provinces, by roads and passages of vessels; that a strong military force should be kept at the seat of government, to defend against enemies, to check rebellion, and enforce the laws, but not to be distributed through the provinces to enslave, or to have a chance of enslaving the people; that the American convention should make their own laws, and regulate their own affairs, and should raise and pay their own troops; but that the union of force between the two countries should be complete, because, in the case of a war against either, they were to have the same friends and foes.

THE ideas of able men, generally lead to light: Let us see how the matter in these projects would apply to the questions of an incorpora-

ted union with Ireland, and of a federal union with the American States.

THE first part of Mr Fletcher's plan, the federal union, would have brought Scotland to the same situation in which Ireland has, within these few years, been placed, or rather by her spirit, has placed herself; that is to say, the Parliament of Scotland would have been independent of the Parliament of England. The second part of his plan, the limitations of the rights of sovereignty, would have put Scotland nearly in the present situation of America, by making her independent of the Sovereign of England. But in both cases, a war between England and Scotland must have been inevitable. Fletcher saw it, is reported to have laid his account with it, and his writings show that he despised it. For, as his spirit was high, and the provocation about Darien recent, he thought the danger worth running, in order to gain independence to Scotland, believing that the same strong form of the country, and the same valour of the people, which had protected Scotland during so many centuries from England, would protect her for ever.

THE present federal union between Ireland and Britain, even without the attempts of Ireland to obtain limitations upon Monarchy, similar to those of Mr Fletcher, will, in the same way, sooner or later, lead to a war between Britain and Ireland; and nothing but an incorporated union, by which I mean an union of Parliaments, trade and taxes, can prevent it. But a federal union of Britain with America, will lead to no such consequence, even although the sovereignty of the Crown be now thrown off. And if hostilities between England and America shall, by a federal union, be in future times prevented, the beneficial consequences, to both nations, of amity made perpetual by a fair federal union, will be so immense, as to be worth almost all the blood and treasure that has perhaps led invisibly to it.

THESE are the ideas which I wish to develope in the present paper.

INCORPORATED UNION WITH IRELAND.

Two trading nations, combined in a federal union, under one Sovereign, may continue for ever, enriching and strengthening each other, in amity, provided three circumstances intervene.—The *first* is, when the productions of the two countries are different, and exchangeable with each other, to create mutual love by mutual interest. It has cost a vast deal of trouble to England to make the Spaniards hate the English; yet still they do not. If, in ancient times, the crowns of Spain and England had fallen under one head, (which might have happened if there had been issue from Philip of Spain and Mary of England,) and the nations been linked together by a federal union, under the protection of the assemblies of the ancient Cortes in Spain, and of Parliaments in England, that union might have lasted until this day, notwithstanding all the oppositions of religion; because the wines, oils, fruits, silks, and short wool of Old Spain, and the finer metals from New Spain, and the southern articles of importation from thence, would have been continually exchanging for the manufactures, the long wool, the coarser metals of Britain, and the northern articles of importation from British America.—The *second* circumstance is, when the two countries are at a distance from each other, to prevent the frequent opportunities which vicinity presents for nations to quarrel. No difference has ever happened between England and Hanover, because they are separated by a great sea and part of a continent. If England and Turkey were united under one head, the world would probably end before they would fight with each other.—The *last* circumstance is, when the offices of Government and the armies of each country are supplied not from the other, but from itself, so as to create no suspicion of the partiality of the common Sovereign, or of his undue influence, and no dread of his outrages. The family of Philip II. might still have possessed all the 17 provinces of the Netherlands, if that prince had not filled all the places of trust there with Spanish civilians, and all the garrison towns with Spanish infantry.

Now these three circumstances, necessary to insure amity, are wanting in the present state of the federal union between Ireland and Britain.

1st, THE productions of the two countries being the same, the Irish husbandman, manufacturer, and trader, is the rival of the English husbandman, manufacturer and trader; and each separate Parliament will encourage the industry of its own country, and discourage that of the other. It has required all the nice policy of King William, and all the temper of the princes of the Hanover Family, to prevent mutual complaints on those heads from breaking forth into mutual violence. The late discussion of the Irish propositions, may shew the extreme lengths, to which the suspicion of advantages gained, or only, possibly, to be gained, by the one country over the other, may extend themselves: and all attempts, by all the wit of man, to secure amity by mutual concessions, made in commercial treaties, are in vain; because the circumstances of manufacture and trade, in the same latitude of the same part of the world, are continually varying, and the nation which first loses by that variation, will first elude, and in the end break the treaty. It is not probable that the commercial treaty with France will stand long; because France, by receiving the woollen, iron, cotton and pottery manufactures of England, that is to say, the four staples of England, has given every thing, and got no suitable equivalent in return. *2^{dly}*, The circumstance of vicinity between Ireland and England, will inflame the passions of individuals by the immediate sight of the advantages, real or imaginary, which the one kingdom shall enjoy, or seem to enjoy, over the other in the union, and by the envy and animosity of all neighbouring nations against each other. And *lastly*, The filling Irish offices of trust with Englishmen, and sending English troops to Ireland, will be, as it always has been, a continual subject of complaint and jealousy to the Irish; because they will suspect undue influence in the one case, and dread military compulsion on the other. If in these circumstances, and under separate and independent legislatures, peace shall continually take place between Ireland and England, it will be the only instance of the kind known in history, since the beginning of the world.

THERE is one, and but one engine to break the force of those circumstances: an incorporated union; by which I repeat, that I

mean an union of Parliaments, trade and taxes. When that is obtained, then all the fears of the Scots, at the time of their union, and of the ablest of them all, Mr Fletcher, in his above mentioned paper, that their forty-five members would be outvoted by above 450 English members, in all questions which related to the interests of Scotland, will be found as vain in Ireland as they have proved to be in Scotland ;—because the profits of trade and the burdens of taxes being common to both nations, there can be no rivalship, except in the exertions of industry ; nor could the united Parliament hurt the husbandman, manufacturer, or trader of the one kingdom, without injuring that common stock, the aggregate of which is made up from the prosperity of every part of the dominion, to which all contribute, and in which all share.—The line of vicinity would disappear (if I may use such an expression) in the line of identity.—And the distinction between Irishman and Englishman being lost in the high character of citizens of the British Islands, it would signify little, except to a few individuals, from what part of those Islands the persons came, who were entrusted with power, civil and military ; because these persons would have all the inducements of common service and common interest, to make them use with discretion the powers committed to their charge, and none to abuse them.—But above all, the suspicions and animosities, which continually prevail in separate assemblies of separate nations, would cease in the united assembly of one nation, even when the bitter truth was alternately explained, that partial evil is sometimes general good.

FEDERAL UNION WITH AMERICA.

THE dangers which attend a federal union between Ireland and Britain, do not attend a federal union between America and Britain ; because the causes of them do not exist in the relative situations of the two countries. For the interests of the husbandman, manufacturer and trader in America do not interfere with those of the husbandman, manufacturer and trader in Britain ; as the productions of the two countries are not only different, but naturally exchangeable with each other ; or where they are the same, the distance is so unequal, that they cannot be rivals in the same markets. *Secondly*, The Atlantic

Ocean between us, removes all chance of animosity that might arise from the circumstances of vicinity. And, *lastly*, As England has not a single regiment in the dominions of the states, nor the disposal of a single office, nor even a party in the country, it is impossible that she should exert either military force, or undue influence, or sow divisions there. The causes of disunion then being removed, the chain of a federal union stretched across the Atlantic, between the English and their still beloved countrymen, might be as eternal, as the ocean that seems to separate, but in reality, tends indissolubly to unite them.

AMERICA would, by the union, not only gain protection in war, that protection which has often saved her, and a renewal of the favours to her trade, those favours which have enriched her; but what is far more material to her than either, she would be enabled to enforce her own constitution and laws. In vain would have been the principle of virtue in ancient republics, of honour in some modern monarchies, and of liberty in England, the prophecies of Mahomet, and the prayers of Cromwell, and in vain, even the sublime conceptions of Sir Thomas Moore, and Mr Harrington, if there had not been, or was not to be, a military force, either of armies or of militias, to hold their fabrics of government together. It is no secret to mankind, that the lightness of the American states in the scale of nations, at a time when they should have felt their weight the most, in the hour immediately after victory and glory, arises from their supreme power, being possessed neither of authority nor of force. They present a new spectacle in history; a great empire, possessed by a great people, who acknowledge no government, and obey no law. The consequence of which is, that all modern nations stand aloof from them, as the ancient nations did from the rocks of Scylla and Charybdis. But their supreme power would, by a federal union with Britain, be strengthened in the imaginations of their subjects; and being entitled, by the terms of it, to ask assistance equally against enemies and rebels, they could command that reality of power to protect their constitution, and enforce its regulations, without which no government, at least no great government, ever did, or ever can stand.

Necessary for
America.

BUT to accomplish those ends with effect, it would be necessary not to stop at the plan of Mr Fletcher, but to join to it that of the Marechal, Earl of Stair ; and therefore to add to the federal union, a presiding executive officer named by England, to be the key-stone of the arch of amity between the two countries ; no matter whether he be the representative of the King, or of the Parliament, or of the people of England ; and no matter whether the person appointed by England, from time to time, was an Englishman or was an American, and whether he bore the inoffending title of Legate, or the conciliating one of Mediator, or the more commanding one (which the Americans seem to like better) of President of the council of the States, provided his power be properly defined and limited. Whatever his title be, he could not fail to be the guardian of the union, because it is the interest of his country, that that union should be immortal. He could not intrigue with parties in America, where England has no party, nor bribe with places where she has none to give, nor enslave with troops and officers that are not her own. In such a situation, it would be impossible for him to do mischief : But he might do much good ; because he could mediate, reconcile, explain, and by the very circumstance that all his moves would be made in a public assembly, might prevent those differences between the two countries, which ambassadors, acting in private, and who therefore cannot be detected, often foment from temper or design. His glory during his life, his fame after his death, his claims upon the gratitude of his country, would all depend upon his success in promoting peace and friendship between two nations, whose common ruin is involved in their common discord.

THE present disorders of the Americans, and their attempts to procure order, by contriving a plan of a constitution, in which a presiding executive officer makes a chief part, shew the consciousness of the necessity of such an officer, appointed some way or other, by some body or other. They see it, they feel it : And therefore the only question (if Americans will, for a moment, suspend their passions, and allow such a question to be discussed by their ordinary good sense), is,

whether it be best for America, that that officer be appointed from England, or be elected in America.

If he be elected in America, (as the present plan of government in agitation in America proposes), then one of two alternatives will follow: The first, and most probable is, that the new projected constitution will not execute itself at all; but like the union of the Germanic body, will appear in books of public law, and no where else. The states having no immediate pressing common interest, will fall asunder from each other like a rope of sand, and Congress be worse attended than ever. For why, except in cases of common and extreme danger, real or imagined, such as united Greece against Xerxes, Germany against Lewis XIV. and America against the stamp-act of England, should deputies from Georgia leave their families, and sail through a great ocean to go to New York, in order to lay taxes on their own state, to carry on the affairs of twelve other states, in which they have no immediate interest? If the Irish object, at present, to an incorporation of Parliaments with England, because their members would be obliged to cross only a narrow channel, what but some strong impulsive cause could make American deputies cross a great ocean, or a great continent? That strong impulsive cause is to be found in an union with Britain alone. For, to make the union of a number of small states lasting, there must not only be a principle of connection among themselves, such as that of common liberty, but there must be also a principle of connection, such as that of common interest, with a friendly protecting great state, in whose glories they participate, whose protection they enjoy, but whose enmity they fear not.

BUT if the American confederacy moulders away, then America will sink into thirteen small independent states, in which every nation in Europe will intrigue, and which will be engaged in continual wars with each other, and with other nations. The scenes of the Peloponnesian war, which lasted above twenty years, and of the religious war in Germany, which lasted above forty, will be repeated on the plains of America.

BUT if contrary to all probability, the plan of a constitution now in agitation in America, should really execute itself, then the other alternative will follow, that the presiding executive officer will be elected, as every such officer has been, ever since the world began, by the intrigues and factions, and perhaps violence of his own countrymen. To which will be added, all the intrigues of France, whether they arise from officiousness, or from mischievousness of disposition; a disposition which led the late Duke De Choiseul to lay out in one year fourteen millions of livres, in order to throw divisions into Sweden; which has marked the negotiations of France for three centuries back, with the corruption of individuals, and the dissension of nations in every country that has been connected with her; and which is favoured by the very form of her government, because a rich sovereign there, is not like the sovereign of England, accountable to his people for the money which he receives from his people. But this presiding executive officer, (whether the first who is elected, or one of his successors, is immaterial,) will naturally govern by that home faction, or that foreign King, who raised him into eminence. At the end of the four years, (the period at which his administration is to end, upon the plan of the constitution now in agitation in America), it will be his and their interest, that he should not resign a power so useful to both. And he will end in a Dictator, Protector, or Stadtholder; that is to say, the servant will insist to become the master, and complain that his rights are invaded, when he is invading those of others.

IF the first of the alternatives, which I have pointed out, shall take place, the Americans will lose their safety; if the other, they will lose their liberty; and in both events, their glory. But neither of the alternatives can happen in a federal union with England, if the nomination of the presiding executive officer shall be left to England, provided his powers be defined and limited with strictness, anxiety, and even suspicion by America. America will then keep her own union firm at home, in order to enjoy the advantage of that with England abroad. England will consider, as the palladium of her own safety, a confederacy, in which is involved that union of force, on which the strength of nations, and consequently her own strength depends. But to suppose that such an officer, though appointed by England, but to

be changed every four years (upon the American plan) should, alone, and unaided, enslave America either to himself or to England, is to suppose the firmament to fall.

If a federal union with England be necessary to America, it is equally so to England. Those persons must be short-sighted, in tracing the connection between political causes and effects, who do not foresee, that as Sicily was the first bone of contention between Rome and Carthage; so our West Indian islands will be the first bone of contention between America and us. The easy access which vicinity, and the state of the winds, give to America to attack them, and the difficulties which, from the want of those advantages, Britain will find to defend them, point out too surely to whose lot in war they will fall. Halifax, which, by a fatal mistake, is planted where it is commanded by heights, is only fattening up for the first bold invader. The province of Quebec is at an immense distance from England, accessible every where, and defensible no where; the single town of Quebec may be the last remain of the British empire in America, as Ravenna was that of Rome. These are sad forebodings; but they may be easily disappointed, if England and America will concur in reflecting, that there is empire enough for both, in their respective dominions; that they are the only examples known in the history of mankind, of two countries which may continue almost for ever to rival each other in grandeur, yet never in power; that united, they may defy the universe, and disjointed, they will, from age to age, be tilted against each other, by the machinations of other nations who wish evil to both, and will rise on their ruins.

Necessary
for England.

AN incorporated union with Ireland is equally a matter of necessity. A common eye, glancing over a common map of Ireland, and particularly that part of it which opens immediately upon the Atlantic Ocean, will see it indented with deep and spacious bays, more than any coast in the world, except Norway, from the northmost point of Ireland to Cape Clear on the south. A scientific eye, examining those bays by Mr M'Kenzie's charts and survey, will find them protected by islands in a most singular manner from surfs and storms, and surrounded by natural harbours, so numerous, as not even to have names. By the

Necessity of
union with
Ireland.

exposure of three sides of Ireland to the ocean, Ireland is better situated than England for the trade of the Bay of Biscay, of Spain, of the Straits, of Africa, of Asia, and of America, and perhaps even of the North. Her climate being mild, her soil rich, her people ingenious, brave, and now at last free, and therefore industrious, (for industry for ever follows freedom, as the shadow follows the body), she will grow in stature and in strength, till she rivals England. Like two thunder clouds the two nations will then meet, and dreadful will be the explosion: For the chain of causes and effects is as absolute in the moral and political, as it is in the natural world*.

THE people of England attended not to the rising state of America, till they were awaked with the sound of death. They sleep again over the rising state of Ireland, till they shall again be awaked by the same sound. America gave no warning; but Ireland has given it. Her hosts of volunteers have announced to England what they can do, and what they will do. Scotland too gave warning; for Mr Fletcher's act of security put arms into the hands of every man in Scotland who was able to bear them. The Earl of Stair went instantly to London, and instead of flattering his friend and patron into a fatal security, he told Lord Godolphin that he was on the brink of a precipice, and the two countries on that of a civil war. From that instant the union was resolved upon in the cabinet of England.

A N E C D O T E.

IT was intended in April of the year 1776, that the late Earl of Rochford, with whom I had the honour to live more like a brother than a friend, should succeed the Earl of Harcourt in the government of Ireland. Lord Rochford showed me his Majesty's note about it,

* The common argument, that because the Irish have small capitals, they will never obtain trade, is an argument for children. I once asked the late Provost Cochrane of Glasgow, who was eminently wise, and who had been a merchant there for near seventy years, to what causes he imputed the sudden rise of Glasgow. He said it was all owing to four young men of talents and spirit, who started at one time in business, and whose success gave example to the rest. The four had not ten thousand pounds amongst them when they began.

and said he had asked time from his Royal Master to consider. He told me his reason for doing so was, that as continual residence in Ireland for three years, was the understood condition of his going there, he could not submit, at his age, to so long an exile, unless he could do some great good there, and get some great fame; that two objects occurred to him, the one to procure a repeal of the penal laws against Roman Catholics, and the other to bring about an union with England; that both seemed visionary, and yet he could not get them out of his head; that the dearest friend he had in the world was Lord Harcourt, and that he would be obliged to me, if I would go over to Ireland, let Lord Harcourt know the offer which he (Lord Rochford) had got, his hesitation, and his two views, and receive Lord Harcourt's opinions and reasons upon those views, which could be better done by conversation than by letters. When I delivered my letter to the Lord Lieutenant, he smiled, and said, "A Nassau may do in this country what I cannot; and Rochford is open and frank, and will please the Irish. But what you come about requires much talking over." I staid a week with him in the country. With regard to the penal laws, he thought there was not much difficulty, that the Roman Catholics were all on the side of England, and of the King of England, in the American war, and that very good use might be made of them in the course of it: And there are men now living, high both in church and state, who may remember the conversations on that head, and that they thought on it as he did. But with regard to the other object, Lord Harcourt thought there were great difficulties; yet, perhaps, not insurmountable. When two men open their minds freely, and give their lights to each other in conversation, it is difficult to say on which side thoughts and opinions originate, and still more difficult at the distance of ten years to recollect them. But the impression upon my mind at present, of Lord Harcourt's opinions, is, that to attempt an union with Ireland in time of war, was insanity, notwithstanding its having succeeded in Scotland at such a time; that the minds of the Irish must be long prepared; for which purpose government should take the assistance of the best writers of the nation on both sides of the water, to point out the advantages of an union, in different lights, to different men; and should, in the mean time, treat

Ireland with a kindness and a confidence which she very well deserved ; that no union should be attempted, unless the wish for it came from the side of Ireland ; and even then, not unless there was a strong body of troops there, to keep the madmen in order ; and these troops Irish, and not English ; that the two great objections were, loss of money by absentees, and loss of importance by diminishing the numbers of Peers and Commoners, if a representation should take place to the united Parliament, as was done with Scotland ; but there was a way to obviate both objections by one measure. The measure was, that the rights of the Peers, counties, and boroughs of Ireland, should continue as they were, but that only one-third, in rotation, should attend the united Parliament ; and he who did not chuse to attend, should have power to name one from amongst the other members in his place, by which all the men of parts or fortune (the only persons who ought to attend Parliament) would be almost always sure of a seat ; and the representation of Ireland would, at that time, have consisted of about 40 Peers, and about 100 Commoners.

WHEN I reported these things to Lord Rochford, he said, " all this " is too long an affair for me," and declined the honour which his Sovereign intended for him.

SINCE that time the Duke of Richmond has thrown out an idea to the public, that the Parliament of the three nations should be held frequently in Dublin ; by which I presume, his Grace meant, in regular successions of time, and only in times of peace, because in time of war it would be improper to remove government from the vicinity of intelligence. There is not only fairness to Ireland in the proposal, but depth of policy ; because government then knowing all its subjects of condition, and all its subjects of condition knowing each other, the strongest links of society, those of acquaintance, and affection of the members of the state to each other, would be wound through, and round all his Majesty's dominions. The ancient Greek Legislators, who certainly were the wisest that ever lived, because they made politics in the abstract a science, saw well the consequence of this chain, when, under the pretence of contributing to the amusement of the

people, they assembled all Greece, at regular times, at their public games*.

THERE are two objections to his Grace's plan; one is want of accommodation in Dublin, for the numerous English members of the Legislature, the other the fatigue of transporting themselves; but it would be much better to lay out a million of money in erecting houses in Dublin, to accommodate the members of Legislature, than to be laying out one hundred, or perhaps two hundred millions to conquer Ireland, or to be conquered by her. And with respect to the important point of personal fatigue, Archibald, Duke of Argyle, who lived to the age of near ninety, in the full enjoyment of health and faculties, used to say, that all the Peers of England might do the same, if, like him, they would make a journey, twice in the year, of 500 miles, without stopping.

POWER OF BRITAIN, IRELAND, AMERICA AND HOLLAND COMBINED.

THE late revolution in Holland, is commonly considered as the last act of the drama: But if his Majesty's ministers do their duty, they will consider it as no more than the first, and that there are several acts still remaining for them to fill up. The union with Scotland was accomplished even in time of war; but it was because that was a war of power and success. The revolution in Holland enables England now to take her station high in the rank of nations; and those will court her now who lately would have trode upon her. Among others, America may wish, in the present state of her own disorder and distress, (for both are great,) to take shelter under the joint wings of England and Holland. If an incorporated union of Britain with Ireland, a federal union with America, and a league offensive and defensive of all

* In Britain the people of letters, in general, are enemies to each other, because they hardly ever meet; but in France they are friends, because they are bound together in academies, and other literary societies. It is very difficult for people to hate each other who are every day eating and drinking together: Men find on acquaintance with each other, that they are not just so bad as they thought.

the three with Holland, were to be accomplished, then the modern would return to the condition of the ancient world, in which the nations that were free, commanded the fate of those who were not free. The disturbers of mankind, for a century and a half back, have been the French: By the open violence, or secret intrigues of one of their princes in the last age, more of the human race were rendered orphans and widows, than were ever reduced to those conditions by any one man since the days of Adam. Another of them in our day, by drawing Spain against her plainest interests, into the fatal family-compact, oppressed the only nation that for two centuries upheld the equality of power in Europe. But the fleets of England and Holland combined, by landing armies of their German allies from the ocean upon the coasts of France, and chiefly of Normandy; and by landing English and American forces, together with numerous bodies of black troops, formed like the seapoys of India, upon the French and Spanish West Indies, and the Spanish continent of America, that is to say, by throwing one quarter of the globe upon another, and one part of the new western world upon another, could force those two nations to submit for ever, or at least as long as those unions, and that league lasted, to the peace of human kind, and to their own happiness.

COMPARATIVE EXPENCE BETWEEN WHITE AND BLACK TROOPS IN HOT CLIMATES.

IN several passages of this publication, I have insisted upon the policy of conducting the war in hot climates, by natives of Africa. I shall here consider the expediency of such a measure in the view of national œconomy. Of an English regiment in actual service of war in the West Indies, four parts die every year of disease; and therefore, to that extent it must be continually recruited. On this calculation, a body of 1000 men, to be kept up for five years, will require 4000 recruits. The freight of 5000 men, with their stores, at L. 20 a man, officers excluded, amounts to L. 100,000; levy money at L. 5 to L. 25,000; clothing at L. 3 for 1000 men for five years, and 4000 men for one year to L. 27,000, besides many other expences which attend English troops, that would not be required for black troops; freight of 1000 English troops home at the end of the war, L. 20,000; *inde*, in all,

L. 172,000. Add to this, the loss of the industry of 1000 British subjects, yearly, for five years, valued at L. 20, L. 100,000; and the loss of the industry for ever, of 4000 British subjects, who died, valued at seven years purchase, which is a low enough calculation for men in the prime of life, such as recruits to regiments commonly are, L. 560,000; *inde*, L. 660,000; the whole together making L. 832,000. But the purchase of 1000 negroes in Jamaica, at L. 40 each, with 100 every year, for five years, to keep up the number, which is a very large allowance, would be L. 60,000; clothing at forty shillings a-year, L. 11,000; *inde* in all, L. 71,000. The balance in saving would be L. 761,000: And on 10,000 black troops, which, with the help of a very few thousand English and American troops, could conquer all the possessions of France and Spain in the new western world, would be a saving of above seven millions and a half.

IN this calculation, I have not taken into my view, that the pay of 1000 English troops every year is L. 20,000; whereas black troops might be paid at one-half, or, perhaps, one-fourth of the expence, in the same way as the black troops are paid in India; and my reason for not taking the difference into the calculation is, that it is impossible for a nation to pay even black men too high who conquer empires for them.

To what I have said on the policy of the measure of using black troops in hot climates, I have only to add, that I have heard from several officers, whose spirit of observation I can trust, that, when the negroes of the Coromantee nation come first to Jamaica, they are found to be so accustomed to martial exercises, that they can march, keep their ranks, run on, or run off in a seeming disorder; yet stop, advance, rally, or retreat in a real order. The conclusion to be drawn from the fact is obvious.

A P P E N D I X, N^o III.

*State of the Controversy betwixt United and Separate Parliaments.
Whether those Interests which are to be United by the present Treaty,
and those Interests which by the same Treaty are to remain Separate
and Distinct, are more properly and safely lodged under the Guar-
dianship of an United Parliament, or under that of Separate Parlia-
ments. Written in the year 1706, by Mr Fletcher of Salton.*

EVER since the Union of the Two Crowns, it has been the work of factious turbulent spirits, to foment jealousies, and to promote differences betwixt these two nations.

On the other hand, all well-meaning men have thought, that a nearer union will be the only effectual measure to bring these two nations to a peaceable state at home, and to make them formidable abroad.

HER Majesty, in her princely care, hath been pleased to appoint commissioners to treat of such an union; and these commissioners have concluded a treaty for that purpose.

THIS treaty is to be laid before the parliaments of both nations; and no doubt this factious race will still be at work, either entirely to obstruct this intended union, or to put it upon such an uneasy and unequal foot, as shall tempt one or other of these two nations to break it.

THE consequences of a proper and well-founded union, are so great and universal, that it is the privilege and duty of every single subject of either nation, to offer his sincere opinion in such a case; and in the sense of this duty I presume to offer these few pages, with all imaginable sincerity and submission.

I shall not pretend to make a particular inquiry into the detail of this treaty ; but this scheme, (so far as I can learn), and all other treaties, whether upon the incorporate or foederal scheme, seem to conclude, That an absolute communication of trade, and of most other public interests and privileges, with a proportionable share of the burdens and benefits attending that trade and these privileges, is necessary towards establishing a just and lasting union, and good correspondence betwixt these nations.

THAT scheme likewise (and all other schemes, whether incorporate or foederal) seems to conclude, That in the most absolute and incorporate union that can be made betwixt these two nations, there are several interests (and of the greatest consequence too) which are and must be reserved separate to each nation, after the union is agreed to.

IT is none of my present purpose, to examine, Whether or not these gentlemen, who were impowered to treat of this matter, have acted their part faithfully and wisely, either with respect to the things to be incorporated, or the things to be reserved?

WHETHER the duties which these gentlemen have engaged us in, are easy and proper for the Scots, as some say ; or if they are insupportable, as others say?

WHETHER the engagements which they have brought the Scots under, of paying a share of the English debts, will be sufficiently relieved by the equivalents promised, or if the Scots will be overwhelmed by these debts?

WHETHER the rights of the Scots African Company, are well sold, or if they are thrown away?

WHETHER they have purposed good and substantial articles and provisions for the security of our Scots church, and municipal laws and judicatures ; or if they have flurred over these matters, so as that the treaty may be risked in parliament?

WHETHER or not the Commons in Scotland are justly represented by

45, and the Peers by 16? and whether the state of Peers is honourably and justly treated; or if they are unpeered, debased, and degraded?

I shall shun all these questions, and shall presume, that these gentlemen have acted their part very faithfully in all these matters, and have obtained very ample and substantial articles and stipulations, both with relation to the things to be incorporated, and the things to be reserved.

THE great question here to be considered is, touching the security of these matters: Whether the performances of these articles and stipulations (such as they are) is more accessible and secure to the Scots after the union, under the guardianship and administration of an incorporated parliament, composed of a small part of the Scots members thrown into the whole representative of England, or under the administration of separate parliaments?—And whether or not an united parliament will, in its consequences, engage and conciliate the inclinations of the people of both nations for ever to maintain these articles; Or if the structure of an united parliament will occasion such a subversion of rights and families, as will be a handle in all ages for shaking that union?

BEFORE I proceed to the description of this question, I shall beg leave to take notice of the reception it had amongst the commissioners of the treaty in two particulars: One particular is, That this question touching the united parliament was the first material point concluded on, though (with all due submission) it ought to have been the last, for very obvious reasons.

THE subject matter of this treaty consists in two branches: The things to be communicated or reserved of either side; and, The government of these things after they are communicated and reserved.

THE common rules, both of nature and policy, do direct, that the things should be first adjusted which are to be governed, before the government of them is pre-determined: There is no necessity of giving a child its name before it is brought forth: A government to be made, ought to be adapted to the nature of the things to be governed, and not the things to it.

IF all manner of things of both nations were to be incorporated, it was no doubt reasonable, that the whole parts of the government of both kingdoms should likewise have been incorporated with these things: but if, otherwise, the wisdom of the treaters should have thought fit to reserve some things of value, as a separate property to each nation; then it would seem a reasonable consequence, That a separate property must be managed by a government less or more separate, as the nature and value of that separate property might require.

So that even though the whole members might from the beginning have projected, that the whole interests and government were to be incorporated, yet in the common rules of business, the articles of things ought to have been first adjusted.

THE other particular is, That when this grand point came to be treated of, or rather pointed at, it was yielded without an argument, though it is known to every body, that many of the greatest and wisest men of this nation are absolutely against an united parliament, as a measure most likely to frustrate the treaty.

I am very far from believing, that the reason for yielding this grand point in that manner can be justified, because (as is told) the English treaters did positively declare they would not hear of any treaty, excepting upon the foot of an incorporating parliament: This was not the way of treating with men at freedom, and with commissioners called together by one and the same authority. This was the only grand point of the whole treaty; and the anticipating it thus, was yielding the whole cause.

BUT I shall not insist any more upon the journal of this treaty; the reasons of these preposterous proceedings, and the effects it will have towards the promoting or postponing of this long-wished for union, will appear in due time.

I shall proceed to put the state of this question in a true light, and shall use my weak endeavours to undeceive some well-meaning men, who seem

to be amused with imaginary hopes of security and peace from an united parliament.

I have taken notice that an union does consist (with respect to its subject matter) in two branches, In things to be incorporated or reserved, and in the administration and government of these things whether incorporated or reserved.

THE first comprehends the people of both nations, with their trade, privileges, benefits, burdens, and all other interests.

AN union in these, is the only solid expedient to unite and cement the inclinations of different people, and therefore it ought to be as full and complete as possible.

As for the government and administration of these things, it is only subservient to this union of interests, and it ought to be no further united as to its powers, than in so far as it can be made answerable to its ends.

GOVERNMENT may be distinguished with respect to its power, into two parts, The executive and the legislative.

THE first is lodged properly in the hands of the prince: The other has its rise from the people, with the sanction of the prince.

GOVERNMENT may be likewise distinguished, with respect to its ends, into two parts; One is, for defending the united property of the whole subjects against foreign insults: The other is, for protecting each particular subject, or any part or number of the united subjects, in the full and free exercise of their several properties, against mutual injuries at home.

EACH of these two several ends of government, is accomplished according to the will and constitution of that power whose province it is.

AND therefore as to the first end of government, nature seems to have pointed out a necessity that both these nations should be governed by one

prince ; their situation is so contiguous, that one cannot be invaded but the other must be in danger ; and if they were under different princes, they might be in danger of invading each other : So that one prince is the most proper power for executing such operations as are necessary for their common defence.

BUT as to the other end of government, an united parliament is (with all submission) a most improper power to protect the subjects in the several parts of this island in their united properties, and far more in these which are to be reserved distinct and separate.

THIS will appear, by considering the complexion of this power of an united parliament.

By the constitution of parliaments, the laws are to have their rise from the will and humour of the people, signified by the Lords and Commons, who (in their different capacities) are the representatives of the nation.

IT is a certain consequence of all power, That whosoever is possessed of it, he will employ it to advance that interest to which he himself is most affectionate, and in which he himself is most concerned.

IF the power of making laws and ordinances were in the sole arbitrement of the prince, no part of the nation or subjects would have any transcendent influence in making laws, more than any other part ; the reason is plain, The prince in that case is judge and not party ; he is no wise interested in these laws, except in so far as they regard the common benefit and improvement of his whole nation ; he has no separate property, no peculiar neighbourhood, the remotest corner is his, as well as the metropolis ; he finds his honour and government supported and secured by the trade of the more remote parts, as well as by the trade of the adjacent ; and therefore he will encourage the interest of the greater part, without suffering it to smother that of the lesser ; he will not suffer any branch of trade in his whole dominions, to perish by the effects of laws calculated for the personal advantage of any number of his subjects.

It must be quite otherwise, when laws and ordinances, relating to trade and other concerns, are made by the will and humour of the people: there the principles of legislature flow from a quite different fountain, and take their course into quite different streams.

AMONGST private men, sometimes the principles of morality are the rules of their actings; but great societies are above these rules: A member of parliament considers himself as bound in duty to maintain and promote the interest he represents, by all the latitude and means allowed in the constitution; which, in plain language, is his vote.

SEEING then every single member of parliament is both judge and party, it must necessarily follow, That if any branch of trade does rival another, or if any separate interest does contend with another, that trade and that interest which has most members to support it, must swallow up and diminish the other.

HAVING thus described the nature and complexion of this united representative, I proceed to examine the effects of its power, with relation to the interest of Scotland; and first with respect to those things which are to be incorporated.

IN this long tract of land, from south to north, there is a great variety of funds for trade, such as corn, cattle, fishing, wool, linen, coals, salt, lead, &c.

AMONGST these many several funds, there are some, which in their use and improvement are prejudicial to each other, with respect to the persons who are the proprietors, and do naturally create a rivalry in trade; such as the woollen in the south, and the linen in the north; the importers of cattle in the one part, and the breeders in the other; the pilchers in one part, and herrings in the other; the lace-workers in one, and the clothiers in another.

IT is very plain what treatment the Scots may expect as to these matters in an united parliament; and if any man doubts it, he may be fully satisf-

fied, by examining the deportment of the English towards one another, by several acts past in their own parliaments, such as those concerning cattle, Flanders lace, water-born coal, &c. In which cases, the prevailing members of some corners of England, have advanced their own product and manufacture by laws, not only to the prejudice of another part which was not so numerous in representatives, but even to the hurt of some of the most valuable branches of the product and trade of England.

IF the subjects of England have been so treated by each other, how must it fare with the Scots, where the greater extent of territories by land and sea (to omit other considerations) shall produce a greater variety of funds; some of which do more directly rival the funds of England, than those of England do one another.

FOR instance, Supposing an act were offered in the united parliament, for burying in woollen all over the nation, it would certainly carry by votes, and the Scots linen would suffer by it.

SUPPOSING the pilcher fishers in Cornwall, and the red-herring traders in the East and West seas besouth Yorkshire, should find that the Scots herring went to their markets, and spoiled their trade, it is plain, they can find means to clog that trade of herring-fishing in Scotland.

IN a word, The great distance of ground from the south to the north, with the various and discrepant funds of trade, do naturally establish two distant centres of trade, to be carried on by two several races of men, who must have two distinct views of profit and loss; and whatever misfortunes the Scots have lain under hitherto, by the over-ruling influence of their neighbours, it is the finishing stroke to their sinking trade, to abandon it by whole sale to the mercy of that parliament, which can now, by out-voting the Scots, do that by law which formerly was against the laws of nations, and did involve them in a state of variance (if not of war) with the Scots.

BUT perhaps people may think these are but trifling articles of trade, and ought to give way to the other blessings which they expect

from this united parliament, and hope that the 45 Scots members may find favour with the contiguous English members to join with them to support the equal enjoyment of these incorporated interests; therefore I shall leave this point to the further consideration of unprejudiced men, and shall proceed to describe the fate of those valuable interests which are expressly to be reserved, as a distinct national property.

I shall pass over several articles of lesser moment, which are said to be reserved in this treaty, and shall only take notice of these four reserved interests, as being of the highest consequence to the Scots.

1. The separate established interest of church-government.
2. A separate state, or rather species of nobility.
3. Separate municipal laws and judicatures.
4. A separate duty of an equivalent to be paid by the English to the Scots, in recompence of that share of the debts of England which the Scots are to pay.

I shall demonstrate that as to the first and second of these, the English are under an indispensable duty to demolish them; and that as to the third and fourth, it will be to the interest and advantage of the English to suppress them.

As to the first, it were entirely foreign to the present purpose, to enter into the debate in point of right, which of these two church-governments is *jure divino*, or which of them is the more orderly, proper, or decent: What is necessary for the present purpose, is to take notice in point of fact, of three several principles; one or other of which does determine all men in their deportment towards church-government.

FIRST, Most people are of opinion, that the establishment of church-government is equally sacred with that of civil government; that as God Almighty hath instituted one for the preservation of the civil rights of men,

so he hath instituted the other for the benefit of their souls; and that his vicegerent powers, whether princes, parliaments, or other assemblies, are each of them in their several capacities, executive or legislative, bound in duty to God, both to support and promote that church-government which they think is right.

As a great many are of this opinion from a principle of conscience, so a great many more are so from a principle of policy and good government: These do think that the government of church and state are so naturally interwoven, that no nation can be at peace, unless both these go hand in hand in their natural duties to each other, and in their common dispensations to the whole members of the united society.

A third sort of people (and not a few) are from a factious principle, ready at all times to put clergymen by the ears, even where an establishment by law makes the one part secure, and a toleration by law makes the other part easy; and when two opposite establishments shall appear in Westminster, and both shall pretend to claim their equal rights in an united parliament, these factious men will never want a ready handle.

SEEING then the members of an united parliament must be regulated by one or other of these principles, it is very plain, that this united parliament must come to a vote, Which of these church governments shall stand, and the other at best must satisfy itself with being tolerated.

PERHAPS it may be objected against these fears, that the ground of contention will rather be removed, by two several establishments of church-government, seeing the ground of dissatisfaction was, because the one was not established as well as the other; that if two churches are established, both parties will be satisfied, and those who are not pleased with the one, may go to the other: As to which, it shall be acknowledged, that the subjects of both nations may live easily under two different church governments; and if these two nations were united in trade, and other interests, so as that the subjects of both should find equal encouragement in either, it is not to be doubted, that both nations might be more easy as to church mat-

ters than they are at present; but at the same time, these two different established churches cannot be supported by one and the same parliament.

AND here appears plainly, the gross mistake of those who imagine that one parliament can support two different church-establishments; they do not advert to the difference betwixt being tolerated and being established.

To be tolerated, is no more than to receive the compassion of the law, without the least share of power, encouragement, or approbation.

To be established, is to receive the approbation, judgement, and the whole will of the law; and a church established, is actually assumed into a share of the constitution of the government, with such a share of its power as is proper to administer its own discipline.

So that to say, one and the same parliament will allow two churches to be established, each with separate power, is equally ridiculous, as to say, that one man can have two different wills; and it is not to be doubted, that the first act of an united parliament, will be to reduce one of these incompatible establishments; which of the two will fall, is easy to guess.

To illustrate this point, I shall suppose, that at the late Revolution, Episcopacy had been settled in the North, and Presbytery in the West, (according to the inclinations of these respective parts of Scotland); would not the world have looked upon this as an incongruous piece of work; and would not both these establishments have been jumbled into one long e'er now?

THE case will be the same, if the parliaments of both nations are as much united as that of Scotland is united in itself, with this variation only, that the church-governments of England and Scotland are more incompatible than Scots Episcopacy and Presbytery are.

PERHAPS it may again be objected, that if these two church-govern-

ments are expressly secured by positive articles, in this grand and solemn treaty, no parliament will attempt to alter them.

WITH regard to which, first, in point of fact, if this present parliament of Scotland shall attempt to subvert the whole fabric of the Scots constitution, certainly *a fortiori*, an united parliament may invert, or rather regulate a part of the constitution; and therefore those who have any value for either the church-government of Scotland, or for any other of these reserved interests, must of all things be careful to avoid so much as coming to a question, whether or not this present parliament can finish this treaty of union; for if this parliament shall so much as point at any such thing, there is an end for ever, of all the security which the Scots can have for any of their reserved interests.

BUT in the next place, in point of right, it is plainly above the power of this parliament to attempt any such alteration in the constitution; the reason is plain, Members of parliament are but administrators, and their acts cannot extend beyond the power given them by their constituents; which is in general, to support or amend the constitution, either by making new laws, or by mending old ones.

AND though commissions to represent in parliament, do run in general and most ample terms, yet there is one natural condition in all commissions, which neither needs nor ought to be expressed, viz. That the undertakers of the commissions shall contain themselves within the verge of the constitution: If they exceed this, they usurp a power which is not given them; they violate the constitution, and are punishable as usurpers and traitors.

AFTER all, Supposing a new parliament were called, and that the members were fully instructed, and impowered by their constituents to ratify a treaty by which both parliaments were to be turned into one, and that this last scene of a dying Scots parliament, and Scots constitution, should take all the precaution which they could devise, for securing the present established church-government of Scotland; yet it is plainly beyond

the power of men, to make such a provision of security as may not be undone in an united parliament.

THAT establishment, which was formerly safe under the guardianship, will, and approbation of its own parliament, and of its own independent constitution, is now turned out from under that shelter, and must take its fate under a new sort of parliament, and independent constitution, where, if it has the majority, it receives approbation, and is assumed into a share of that new constitution; but if otherwise, it may perhaps obtain compassion and toleration.

IT may be here alledged, That all those dangers and injuries by which the Scots suffer at the hands of the English, do arise from that state of separation betwixt the two kingdoms, and that the more that this separation is removed, the less the danger will be; That an united parliament makes us one and not two, all British, and what is done in that parliament is done for the British, and by the British.

As to which, I do so far agree with the notion of an incorporate union, that both the jealousies we are under, and the injuries we receive, do arise from our present state of separation; and therefore I am for uniting both nations in all those interests which are mentioned in this present treaty, and some more, if so the wisdom of the nation shall think fit.

BUT seeing by the scheme of this treaty (and by all other schemes that ever I heard of) there are some very valuable interests to be reserved as separate properties, and even as distinct establishments; it seems beyond human comprehension, how these separate distinct interests and establishments can be regulated and supported by one parliament.

THERE are two measures, which the Scots in prudence may take to screen themselves from the unequal power of the English; one is, To purchase their affections; the other is, To avoid their influence.

THERE is no honourable way for compassing the first, but by uniting with them, as I have said above; and if this will do the turn, where is the

necessity or prudence of dismembering of a Scots constitution, through so many difficulties, hardships, and dangers: If this union of interests is not able to purchase entirely the affections of the English, but that the English after such an union in interests, may still have an itching to out-rival the Scots in some of their united interests, and shall still find themselves under a necessity or duty to suppress or demolish these interests which are reserved to the Scots: In that case, for the Scots to subject these interests to an united parliament, is so far from being an expedient to avoid English influence, that it is the way to throw themselves head-long into it; and the Scots deserve no pity, if they voluntarily surrender their united and separate interests to the mercy of an united parliament, where the English shall have so vast a majority.

THE English can find access two several ways, to injure the Scots in their trade, or other concerns, By their influence upon a Scots parliament; and, By laws past in an English parliament.

IT is very plain, that they can practise the first of these means, with a great deal of more ease in an united parliament, than in a separate Scots parliament: It is much easier to corrupt 45 Scots at London, than it is to corrupt 300 at Edinburgh; and besides, there will be no occasion of corrupting them, when the case shall occur, of a difference betwixt the South Britons and the North Britons; for the northern will be out-voted, without being corrupted. As the first can be practised with more ease, so the Scots may be injured in an united parliament with greater safety.

A separate parliament of England (especially if the terms of union are expressly declared) cannot make a breach in the interests of Scotland, without imminent danger to themselves; but in an united parliament, they have the concurrence of the Scots, even though the whole 45 should vote against the law; and these 45 Scots members do serve for no more than as so many Scots witnesses, to assent to the surrender of such rights as the English shall please to take from them, and to rise in judgement against their own nation, if they should afterwards pretend that any injury has been done them.

IN a word, A separate English parliament may perhaps invade the Scots rights by their laws; and perhaps a Scots parliament may find means to move them to repeal those laws: But, in the case of an united parliament, the Scots do make a formal surrender of the very faculty itself, and are for ever left to the mercy of the English, with respect to all their interests, both united and separate.

I SHALL close what I have to say, touching this dream of being one and not two, by putting the case, That a law were offered in the united parliament, (to make it go down the better) and that it were brought in by one of the forty-five Scots members, for some regulation in the church-government, or for some regulation of the civil judicatures, or touching some matters of trade; and supposing, that whatever smooth title this law might have, yet it did point at no less than to overturn the church, or civil judicatures in Scotland, or to ruin the trade of Scotland; I suppose the other Scots members should oppose this law, as being prejudicial to the Scots rights reserved in the articles of treaty: The answer is very ready and plain, That there is no such thing as Scots or English; they are all British; they are one, and not two; the law now proposed cannot hurt the Scots no more than the English; if it does hurt, it does hurt to the British, of which the English are a part; and the only way to know whether it does hurt or good to the British, is to put it to the vote of a British parliament.

THIS will be the issue of that darling plea, of being one and not two; it will be turned upon the Scots with a vengeance; and their forty-five members may dance round to all eternity, in this trap of their own making.

I PROCEED to consider the next Scots interest which is to be reserved, *viz.* A separate state, or rather species of nobility.

I AM not here to examine into the justice of that proportion of sixteen, which I am told is by the treaty appointed to be the number for representing the whole body of the Scots nobility in the united parliament; neither am I to take notice of the manner how they are to represent.

WHAT I am here to observe is, That by this treaty the Scots peers are

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reduced into a new state; and upon that account, it may be very proper to consider, what influence that new species of mongrel-peerage may have upon the union and peace of these nations, and what danger this new set of diminutive peers may be in of being in time altogether suppressed.

FIRST then, That the Scots peers are reduced to a new state is plain: They have, by the patents of their families, an inherent, proper, and constant right of sitting and voting in parliament; and by the present treaty, that constant right of theirs is turned into a meer precarious right, either by election or by rotation.

IT is very obvious, what influence the degrading of this state would have upon the peace of these nations: The right of sitting constantly in parliament, and of sharing in the legislative power of the government, is as regularly the property of every peer of Scotland, as his own estate is; and indeed it is more sacred and valuable, because the condition of a man's estate may fail, but that of his representation cannot, without forfeiture.

THE history of all ages hath taught us, that single injured families have been very uneasy to a government; and that government must be in a strange condition, which hath so great a number of families in a state of forfeiture; and these the greatest, and best allied families in the nation.

IT is of no manner of weight, to pretend that their rights are preserved by being represented by a small number; and that besides, they acquire all the other privileges of English peers; such as, the privilege of running in debt without being bound to pay it, &c.

FOR first, If the privilege of a constant right is turned into that of election, it is quite altering the property and nature of the privilege: A peer has in that case, less opportunity for sharing in the government of his nation, than a lesser baron; and it is plain, that in process of time, an united parliament would mumble this spurious race of Scots peers into nothing, for very obvious reasons.

As to their acquiring of all the remaining privileges of English peers,

these can never come to make near an equivalent for that constant right of representation; and besides, for a taste of their future treatment in these matters, I am told, that even in the very treaty itself, the Scots peers are already jostled out of one of the chief of these privileges, *viz.* their right of sitting in judgement upon the trial of a peer: But this is to descend into the particulars of the treaty, which I am to avoid.

I KNOW, some Scotsmen do think that this state hath been increased to a number beyond measure; and therefore in retrenching the number of peers, the nation will not suffer.

I AM very sensible, that this state is swelled (especially of late) to a very overgrown bulk; and perhaps there is too much ground to think, that some men have been instrumental in increasing the number, of purpose to sink that noble body of men by its own weight; especially considering the mean and scandalous grounds which some obscure people have most impudently offered of late, for their pretensions to titles of honour.

UPON this account, the nation may have an eye upon these who have been the chief instruments in such promotions; and it may become the wisdom of the nation, to fall upon means to obstruct any such in time coming.

BUT as to these gentlemen, who would run to that extreme, of dismembering the state of peers, I would recommend to their consideration, the fate of some northern nations, who entered upon the same attempts.

LET no man think, that it is an easy matter to alter any branch of a constitution: The fundamental settlements of a constitution are like so many links of a chain, when one link is broke, the whole chain is broke; and if one state of the nation sets up a rivalry with another, perhaps a third party lies in wait to put the whole under chains; and it is too much to be feared, that some people may have propagated these disorderly notions with this very view.

BESIDES, these gentlemen who expect to ease the Scots nation of a burden, by reducing the number and power of the Scots nobility in this man-

ner, will find themselves very wide of their purpose. If indeed a proposal were made, for reforming that state, with relation to the government, or constitution of Scotland, as it now stands by itself, perhaps there might be some colour of ground to expect some ease to the nation by it; and even that must be attended with eminent danger to the constitution.

BUT if this reform is calculated for the case of the united parliament, it is to take so much power out of the hands of a race of Scotsmen, who might some time or other stand in the gap for that part of the island where their interests and relations are, and to translate it into the hands of a set of men whose bias lies another way, and whose little finger may prove thicker than the others loins.

I MAKE not the least doubt, that there are some people in the nation, who, from a prejudice at the present church-establishment, and the nobility, would willingly sacrifice both, hoping that they shall be able to secure their other interests, which are of more value to them.

BUT these gentlemen will find, that all their interests will meet with the same quarter; when an united parliament shall take away one reserved interest, this opens a floodgate to sweep away the remainder.

I PROCEED therefore to examine the third article of these reserved interests, *viz.* The municipal laws, and the judicatures for administering justice, in which every individual subject, of whatsoever estate, quality, or complexion, must be concerned to the highest degree.

I SHALL not be tenacious of the system of our laws, though perhaps they are inferior to none; the danger here pointed at is, That the judicatures for administering justice, and the cognizance of all law-suits, shall be carried up to London, either in the first instance, or by way of appeal.

IF this should be the fate of our judicatures, inevitable ruin must follow: There is not any man in the nation, whose affairs do not oblige him frequently to attend the Session at Edinburgh; and even this is a very heavy expence to those who live in the remote shires: What insupportable addi-

tion of expence will infue, if in place of coming to Edinburgh, they must go to London, is not so much as to be thought of.

THAT this will be the fate of our judicatures is too plain : It will begin with appeals ; and whatever reservation we may pretend to make for a Scots court of appeals, the House of Peers will never suffer one part of the nation to be from under their jurisdiction, more than another ; the Scots and English are no more two, but one, all are British ; and it must be the interest of a British House of Peers, to make all the British subjects equally own the jurisdiction of their house.

AFTER appeals, the judicatures will soon follow : First they will lose their authority ; when people know where they can reverse a sentence of the Session, they will not be very sollicitous what sentence the Session gives.

MANY members of the united parliament are advocates and attornies at London ; these will bring all the Scots grist they can to their own mill.

ALL the representatives of these towns and counties which lie upon the road betwixt Scotland and London, will oblige themselves and their constituents, by bringing so many travellers into these places every term.

IN a word, it will even fare with the Scots, as it did with the Welsh, only with this variation, that the more extraordinary distance of Scotland from London, will make the expence far more insupportable to the Scots than it is to the Welsh.

As these several reasons which I have mentioned will occasion the transportation of our Scots judicatures to London, so I am told, that there are some clauses in the treaty, which seem designed of purpose to pave the way for it ; such as——“ Subject nevertheless to such regulations as shall be
“ thought necessary for the better administration of justice, to be made by
“ the parliament of Great Britain.”——“ That after the union the privy council
“ does continue in Scotland, for preserving of order and public peace, until
“ the parliament of Britain shall think fit to alter it, or establish any other effectual course for that end.”——“ That all courts now in being in Scotland,

“do remain, but subject to such alterations by the parliament of Britain, as
“may be thought more expedient for the common good.”

I AM to shun meddling with the treaty, and therefore I shall make no comment upon these clauses.

PERHAPS some people, upon account of the personal faults of our judges, may be willing to part with our judicatures.

IF there are any such personal faults, let the wisdom of a Scots parliament provide a remedy; to part with our judicatures were a cure worse than the disease.

I COME to the last of these reserved interests, *viz.* a separate duty of an equivalent, to be paid by the English to the Scots, in compensation of that share which the Scots are bound to pay of the debts of England.

I AM so much a wellwisher to an union and good understanding betwixt these nations, that I shall not insist upon the value of our African company, which is to be abandoned for this equivalent, and which many people think may become of more value to Scotland, than all the accession they can have by the communication of trade with England.

NEITHER shall I reckon up the vast burden of additional duties, which are to be laid upon the Scots, which some people look upon as insupportable.

WHAT I am here to observe is, that the Scots can have no manner of security for this equivalent, in the case of an united parliament.

IN this matter of the equivalent, the Scots do undertake to pay part of the English debts, by laying on duties upon their customs, &c. And the English do undertake, upon the other hand, to refund so much money to the Scots, as an equivalent. This fixeth a formal debit and credit betwixt the two nations, and it is not to be doubted that an united parliament will bind the Scots to their part of the performance; and they may look upon

these duties upon their customs, &c. as unalterable ; but it is very far above the power of the Scots in that united parliament, to force the English to pay their equivalent.

IT is incident to the depraved nature of man, that neither private men, and far less societies, will perform their bargains, or pay their debts, unless when they are compelled to it.

IN the case of private men, or private societies, the judge at common law is umpire ; but in this case of an united parliament, which has no superior power to compel them, the English are both judge and party.

WHATEVER manner of way this equivalent is to be disposed of, it is certainly a sum of money to be paid by 513, and their constituents, to 45 and their constituents ; and if any man does believe that any 513 men in the world, who have no power to answer to, will compel themselves, and pay a great sum of money either at once or yearly, he has more faith than experience or judgement.

THUS I have laid open, with all imaginable sincerity, what I think must be the fate of the Scots interests (especially those which are to be reserved separate) in an united parliament.

AND this scheme of an union, upon that foot, seems to be attended with many insuperable difficulties.

ALL these difficulties would vanish, if these two nations were united in their interests under different parliaments.

THE English cannot apprehend the least danger from the Scots in separate parliaments ; the only ground of discontent to the Scots is, because they are injured in their trade and other interests, either by English laws, or by English influence upon Scots laws : If both are united in trade and other interests by express articles, the Scots must be easy to the end of the world.

NEITHER are the Scots to apprehend danger from separate parliaments, as they may from an united one, for the reasons I have given above.

EACH separate parliament will support their own established church.

IN the case of separate parliaments, there will be no subverted constitutions and privileges, nor forfeited families, to rise up to disturb the peace of the society.

EACH parliament will manage their own civil laws and judicatures.

AND each parliament will maintain their own duties and debts without embroiling themselves with dangerous and uncertain equivalents.

I KNOW it will be objected, that to have different parliaments, is to continue in the same unhappy state in which we have been ever since the union of the two crowns.

THIS is a plain mistake in fact: I do acknowledge that in point of right, the Scots by their union in allegiance were justly entitled to a communication of trade and other public privileges with the English; but the misfortune lay in this, That at the union of the two crowns, this mutual right of communication was not declared by some express open deed: And the Scots (who are the weaker nation) were left to plead their uncertain (though just) titles before the judicatures of England.

THIS misfortune may be effectually provided for by an express treaty, which will for ever secure the Scots in such articles as are to be expressly condescended to by the English, especially considering that the errors of past times have been a warning to both nations.

I KNOW the expence, and some other bad circumstances in the constitution of a Scots parliament, is used by some as an argument for an united parliament.

As to the expence, a Scots government may help that if they please, but the course proposed will not help it; the 45 commoners, and the 16 peers, with the attendance of other Scots men at London, upon account of parliamentary business, will be an expence very far beyond the other, and will indeed prove an insupportable burden upon the Scots, especially consider-

ing that in this case the money which is spent is all carried out of the kingdom.

As to the errors in the constitution of a Scots parliament, these may be helped by a Scots parliament, if they who make this objection do not obstruct it.

BUT here again we meet with a frightful objection, composed of despair and fear, That the Scots can be no worse than they are, and therefore they had best run into this treaty at any rate: That if they do not, the English will never hear of a treaty again, and the consequences will be ruin and desolation.

THIS seems to be a strange way of arguing: Shall the Scots never find themselves in a capacity of treating as free men? Their treaters have been hurried into this article of an united parliament, and their nation is to be bullied into it.

I APPEAL to every man's own observation, if, (excepting a few misled well-meaning gentlemen) these persuasives are not handed about by those very men, who have been most active in drawing their own nation into its present state of misery: These are the incendiaries, who having fired the city, will not advise or assist the inhabitants to extinguish the flame; but would fright them away to save their lives: And these are they who have driven the nation upon precipices, thereby to force them to swallow down such terms as shall be offered them.

BUT it is to be hoped, that the wisdom of the Scots nation will take care equally to avoid these precipices, and any such dishonourable and ruinous terms.

IT is certainly the interest of all good men to promote a nearer union with our neighbours of England; and no time ought to be lost on our part in going about so good a work; and the English are no such people as these incendiaries would represent them: There are no doubt in both nations, some people who endeavour to play the game of faction to each others hand; but the wise and good people of both, have solid grounds to go upon, for defeating these dark projects, and for establishing a lasting union and settlement.

BUT if the English are not ripe for any such solid mean of accommodation, the Scots as provident men, are to consider, before they take such a leap in the dark, whether or not they have any thing within the compass of their own power. by which, without waiting for a treaty with the English, they can make themselves easy and safe.

IF we consider the bounty of providence to us in our native situation and product, and the wisdom of our ancestors, in leaving us a good wholesome constitution; and shall compare these with our present degenerate state, we shall find a very large field for improving the one, and for restoring the other, without the concurrence of England.

I AM not for overloading the power of the prince with unusual limitations, especially during the administration of so gentle a government as we live now under at present.

NEITHER shall I presume to prepossess the deliberations of the ensuing session of the Scots parliament, by offering any thing that is new.

I SHALL only in a few general terms, point out some things which arise naturally, as expedients to obviate these objections which are raised to drive this nation into the measure of an united parliament.

THESE objections do point either at the defects of our constitution within ourselves, or at the defects of our relative state with respect to our neighbours of England.

As to the defects of our constitution within ourselves, I observe chiefly these three objections are made.

THE expence and bad constitution of our parliaments.

THE exorbitant number of our nobility.

AND the corruption of our judicatures.

As to the expence and bad constitution of our parliaments, there have been some laws lying before the parliament for some years, and some of them

ready for the royal assent too, which may go a great length in curing of these evils, and what more is requisite may be worthy the consideration of the ensuing session.

As to the exorbitant number of the nobility, there is a law lying likewise under consideration for some years, which may be a proper remedy for obstructing their exorbitant growth in time coming.

As to the corruption of the judicatures: The Lords of Session are secure against the frowns of a court, by having their commissions *ad vitam*. And seeing corruption and ignorance are failings very hurtful, but not easily to be proven; therefore, if the parliament shall think fit to pass a law, for removing summarily by a vote of parliament, such judges as the majority of the parliament shall think corrupt or ignorant; that bench may become the best constituted judicature in the world, and may be one of the most effectual means to make the nation happy.

As to our relative state with respect to our neighbours of England, it is very plain, that in point of right, the Scots by their union of allegiance with the English, are bound to share in the burdens and duties of England, and consequently are entitled to as great a share of their trade, and other privileges, as this treaty does give them.

BUT lest some narrow selfish people should dispute this point of right, I shall retire to an undeniable point of fact, *viz.* That the Scots actually do contribute very largely and effectually to support these wars, in which they have no other concern, but as being under the same allegiance with England; and which are carried on for supporting that trade, of which they are denied a share.

THESE means, I say, of rectifying our own constitution at home, are in our hands, in the possession and power of a Scots parliament; and if the English do not (without any further treaty) make the Scots such suitable returns, as both their just rights, and their ready performances do entitle them to, it is both natural and just for the Scots to withdraw these performances, and to turn them to the best advantage any where else.

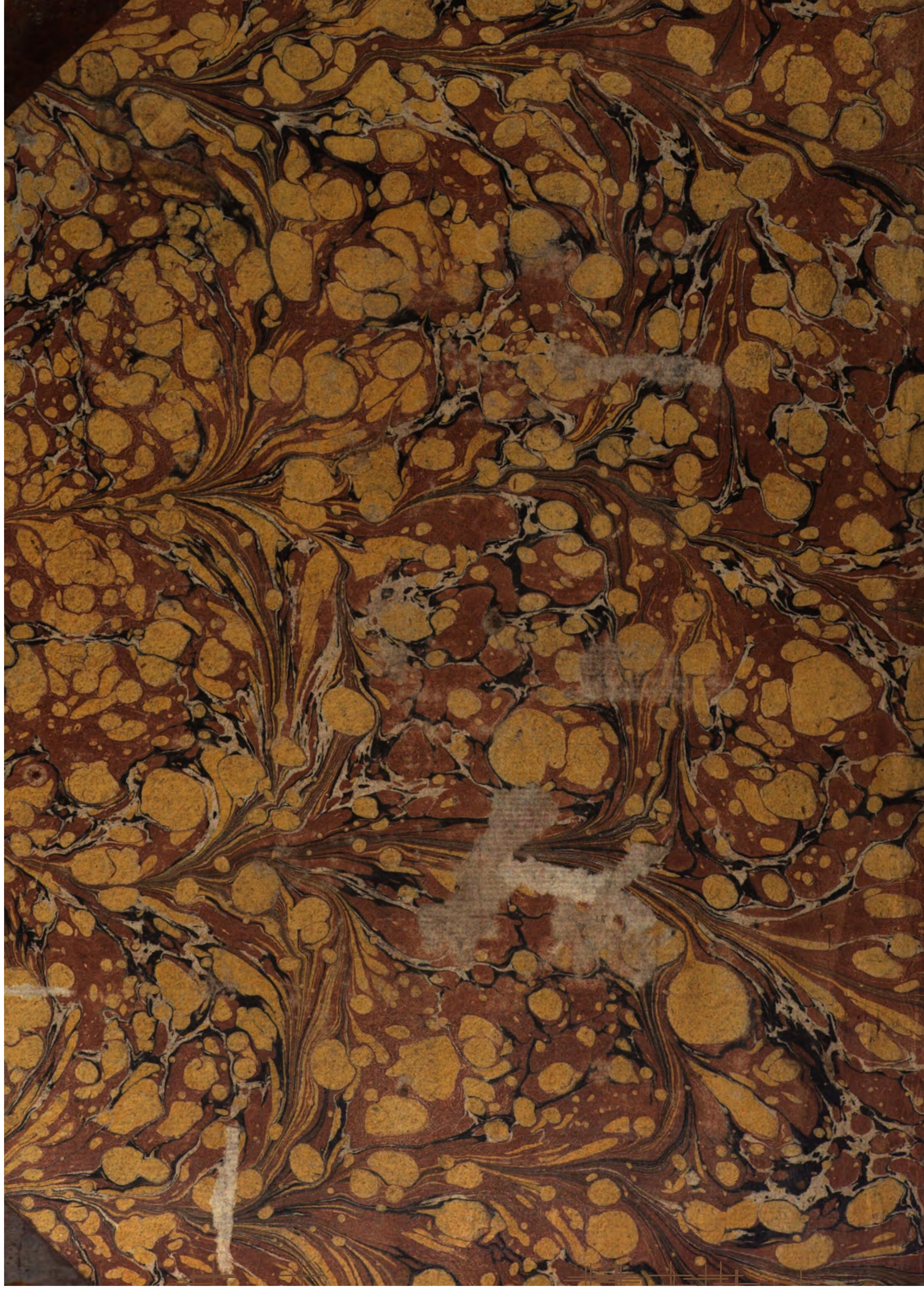
THIS they can easily do, either by public treaties, or private bargains with some other neighbours, by acts of general or particular naturalization, by declaring themselves a free port, and by many other measures, which are in the power of a Scots people or parliament, without waiting for a treaty with England.

IT is true, in so far as an act of parliament is requisite, the assent of the Crown must be had; but if a Scots parliament does exert themselves according to their duty, they have a gracious Queen who will do them justice.

As to the apprehensions of opposition from the power of England: It is in the power of England to do them justice; and it is not to be imagined, that so wise and so generous a nation, will endanger their own and their neighbours peace, where they can find so easy and so just a remedy.

AND besides, we see that the justice of Providence hath inspired all the potentates in Europe, with a principle to preserve the balance of its power; and new alliances do arise every day, for protecting any one part, though never so small and contemptible, which is attacked or injured by another.

IN a word, If the Scots shall boldly, justly, and dutifully, set about to rectify their own constitution at home, and shall use their own native product of men and goods, to such advantages as the bounty of providence lays before them, either by employing it with their neighbours of England, who ought to have the first offer of it, or by making honourable and beneficial bargains elsewhere: The plain consequence must be, either a comfortable state at home within themselves, or an honourable, equal, and lasting state of union with their neighbours of England.



Dalrymple, John, 1726-1810

Memoirs Of Great Britain And Ireland From The Battle Off La Hogue Till The
Capture Of The French And Spanish Fleets At Vigo

Bd.: 2

Edinburgh (1788)

Bibl.Mont. 3360-3

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